#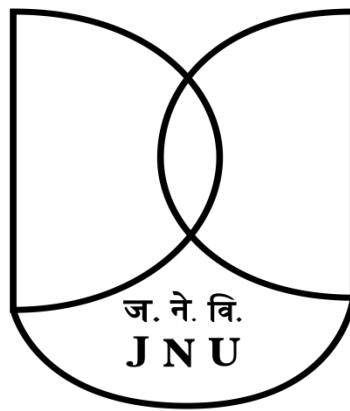 Religious and Ethnic Tolerance in Higher Educational Institutions of Russia: Study of Moscow State University and North Caucasus Federal University.

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University for award of the degree of*

## DOCTORATE OF PHILOSOPHY

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**2019**

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Date- 15ᵗʰ July 2019

## DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled **"Religious and Ethnic Tolerance in Higher Educational Institutions of Russia: Study of Moscow State University and North Caucasus Federal University"**, submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

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## CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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*Dedicated to*

*Chakkavattin Emperor Devanaampiya Piyadassi Ashok – The first turner of the Wheel of Moral Law – who, through his inscriptions of State Rule, initiated the Politics of Tolerance, Recognition and Respect.*

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# Chapter – 1

# Introduction: A Conceptual Framework

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*"The highest result of education is tolerance" – Helen Keller*

## 1.     Introduction

Among several concepts of politics and philosophy, the idea of tolerance is considered as the most critical to sustain peaceful co-existence and establish a just human society. Although the idea of tolerance is extensive, elaborate and profound, it is generally defined as a spirit or a sense of acceptance of the other, of different views to which one doesn't adhere. A tolerant person harmoniously co-exists with the people having conflicting views. Tolerance also becomes a spirit of non-interference in the (disliked) opinions of others. It attaches pragmatic, moral, political and ethical significance to one's attitude towards the other (disliked) opinions. Thus, having a comprehensive scope of articulation, the idea of tolerance provides requisite ground for theoretical and empirical research.

The notion of tolerance can be classified into two perspectives, i.e. negative and positive. The negative sense of tolerance basically comprises of the idea of 'non-interference', whereas the positive sense of tolerance comprises of the idea of 'recognition', and both could broadly be considered as ideas having a wider philosophical approach. Having these two larger classifications, the idea tolerance widens its scope of relation to other significant concepts for greater discursive clarifications. In the arena of tolerance studies, the researches on tolerance have often attached it to democracy. Moreover, it is suggested that the study of tolerance should be done together with the study of democratization and vice versa. In such context,

tolerance is often attached to its ethical significance, making it a necessary virtue which ensures the positive role of citizens in establishing a robust democracy. In this way it ensures a peaceful and cordial mode of harmonizing conflicting positions, along with the accommodations of deviant perspectives arising in pluralistic societies.

Post-soviet Russia is a deeply pluralistic society along with democratic aspirations. Its population is divided into myriad nationalities, religions, ethnicities, races etc. Consequently, having a population with diverse identities which carry diverse opinions, often in conflict with each other, Russia becomes a befitting case for the study of tolerance. Moreover, the presence of many ethnicities and religions in Russia, attracts a serious researcher concerned with these variables.

Hence, this research particularly focuses on the study of ethnic and religious tolerance in the higher educational institutes of Russia. For this I will concentrate on two cases:

1)      Moscow State University, Moscow
2)      North Caucasus University, Stravopol

Thus, by the study of these two universities, this thesis will try to draw a larger inference about the tolerance in the higher educational institutions in Russia.

In the post-soviet era, Russia has evolved as a new, evolving democracy along with the initiation and development of several modern concepts. We see the emergence of such myriad concepts which are novel and also different from the conceptions of the early age, and which especially deal with narratives, accounts and definitions, to augment the new image that Russia is building and striving to present among the international fraternity of nations.

In this context, the contemporary research in and about Russian politics, culture and society, presents sufficient amount of literature dealing particularly with the concept of tolerance in Russia. '*Tarpemus'* is the Russian word for the English word 'tolerance'. There have been a number of recent studies that analyse the relevance of the theory of tolerance in the Russian context. These studies comprise versatility of perceptions with diverse social-political outlooks. Similarly, this literature review attempts to comprehend and subsequently derive substantive analyses of the literature on the broad theme of 'Tolerance' and its relevance in the context of Russia. It further attempts to relate the general observations associated with this theme with my

particular research on the aspect of the Study of Religious and Ethnic Tolerance in the higher educational institutions of Russia.

## 2.      The Politics of Nomenclature: Context of Tolerance

The appropriate usage of terms would leave less space for any prospective confusion during the course of interpreting the correct functioning of tolerance.  In order to avoid such confusions, it is necessary to first clarify the difference between the usages of two words – Toleration and Tolerance. These two words are often used interchangeably to connote the same meaning. Such usage has encouraged misunderstanding in interpreting the various aspects of the discourse of tolerance. Therefore, it should be conceded that the difference between toleration and tolerance is maintained while theorising the topic of research. This work holds the definition of toleration which considers it as a set of socio-political practices. While, it maintains the definition of tolerance as a set of attitudes (Murphy  et al 1997).

However, the work also calls for an attention in maintaining the subtle relationship between the set of ideas and the practical approach of the attitude of tolerance. This research is attempting to relocate the existing gap between the attitudinal aspect and the philosophical aspect of tolerance by foregrounding its practical functioning. It would co-relate both the aspects by considering it a norm as well as an attitude. In order to establish this relation 'toleration' is deemed to have its practical functioning and is thus, presented as 'tolerance'.

In this context, there is an attempt to theorize tolerance normatively as well as descriptively by presenting it as a 'virtue'. Yet, Tolerance is also considered as an attitude, a pragmatic response to the practical need to reside together with other individuals or groups having different beliefs and practices. The justification of upholding the practical functioning of tolerance can be explicated through the fact that it "develops out of the recognition that in practice diversity cannot be eradicated by either philosophical argument or political force (Fiala 2002, 103 )".

Several intellectuals can be called for while foregrounding the context of Tolerance, who have contributed a bulk to the contemporary theories and thoughts of tolerance. They have added critical understanding to the meaning and scope of tolerance's

scholarship. Epictetus, Spinoza, Locke, Bayle, Kant, Mill, Goethe, Voltaire, Milton, Dewey, Rawls, Gandhi etc were among the few people who did extensively spoke on tolerance in the classical age of reasons. They called for the inquiry into various aspects – including histories and subjections spread by political operations of tolerance. In fact they drew the attentions of the scholars to why, when and on whom tolerance is practiced.

The study of the concept of tolerance cannot be considered as a new occurrence in the arena of political theory. It has been developing since the beginning of classical political theory. Sass (1978, 99) observes the initiation of the concept of tolerance as a classical concept, which makes its early appearance in the writings of John Locke. Locke (1689) developed a model of public and social tolerance in his 'Letter concerning Toleration' which was based on the separation of public and private matters. According to him, this classical concept was first developed in England and Holland at the end of 16th century as a tool to avoid or reduce bloody social conflicts resulting from the religious controversies among different faiths. While studying the classical notions of the politics of tolerance, Sass (1978, 111) invokes Spinoza's conception of tolerance, where he observes that in *TractatusTheologico-Politicus*, *"*Spinoza not only developed the theory of tolerance as a benefit for the self-controlled individual as well as for the society, but also the theory of leading and steering great human masses by the way of ideology (state-religion)."

Similarly, Voltaire is considered as one of the significant classical proponent of the notion of tolerance. His definition of tolerance through Sass's (1978,109) reading,  is interrogative, where he questions the meaning of the word that states tolerance as the first law of nature, "In the Stock exchanges of Amsterdam, London, Surat or Basra, the Gheber, the Bhanian, the Jews, the Makometan, the Chinese deist, the Brahmin, the Greek Christian, the Roman Christian, the Protestant Christian, the Quaker Christian, trade with one another: They don't raise their dagger against each other to gain souls for their religion. Why then have we butchered one another almost without interruption since the Council of Nicaea? What is toleration? It is the endowment of humanity. We are all steeped into weaknesses and errors, - let us forgive each other our follies - that is the first law of nature."

Politically, tolerance can be presented as a problem of organizing relations among citizens, subjects, population, state and power as well. It can also be understood as an agency through which several political discourses are enacted. It attaches meaning to the quality of the discourse through which political engagements are accomplished. Tolerance cannot be fixed into any particular frame of political discourse. Precisely, in the political domain, there cannot be a universal value of tolerance. It can also be said that is not possible to have an absolute principle of tolerance or a unitary grammar of tolerance. Rather, it should be noted that tolerance is always placed within a larger political domain of meaning and power. Hence, tolerance is politically manifested in different discourses.

There are also numerous discourses which would include the scope of tolerance. Among these ethnicism, secularism, xenophobia, racism, liberalism, Brahminism, Zionism, multiculturalism etc. are some of the most projected examples. The classical conceptualizations of the theory of tolerance, have majorly emphasised on the religious aspect of the politics of tolerance. Thus, in the coming section we will deal with such other aspects of tolerance and its politics.

## 3.    Democratization and the Politics of Tolerance

In the contemporary literature on tolerance, its relation with democratization is considered as one of the most appropriate method to discuss the broad goal of toleration. Here there are some articulations, particularly strengthening the perspective which argues that the study of toleration should include the study of democratization and vice versa. Sullivan, Pierson, and Marcus (1982, 2) are of the opinion that political tolerance is a "willingness to permit the expression of ideas or interests one opposes". In conditions where people have a natural tendency of intolerance by objecting to opposing opinions even in peaceful situations, they must, in other words, reconsider their automatic response, which is a natural intolerance toward groups and ideas they find objectionable. Here, being considerate about our own responses becomes one of the necessary conditions of democratization. Similarly, many findingspoint to an essential feature of democratic politics, just as Stouffer (1955, 57) suggested over a generation agothat citizens must learn to give tolerance a "sober second thought."

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Peffley and Rohrschneider (2003, 243) also opine that generally, political tolerance is difficult to learn than supporting the abstract democratic principles. At times, when political intolerance seems to prevail, it appears to be higher in less advanced democracies than in more established systems. So, in order to establish a link between the process of democratization and the values of political tolerance, they argue for a synthesized and systematic empirical test, where the macro-level characteristics of countries - like democratic stability, federalism, and socio-economic development - could be tested along with the rising level of political tolerance (using the standard determinants of political tolerance e.g., democratic values, personality, ideology, and political involvement) among the masses. Theoretically, they agree with Paul Sniderman's (1975, 181) conclusion that political tolerance demonstrates the ideas that "are complex, rooted in traditions of human history and political theory which are themselves difficult to grasp". So, they begin with the assumption that the application of abstract support of democratic procedures to political tolerance at a more substantial level is very difficult and subsequently, citizens must be exposed to experiences that encourage the application of democratic norms to specific instances. Similarly, there are a number of researchers from Stouffer (1955) to Marcus (1995) who have argued that the "natural" state of citizens is to be intolerant and not tolerant.

According to Stouffer (1955, 57), it could be stated that the citizens have more opportunities to apply a "sober, second thought" in considering whether to tolerate disliked groups. In contrast, such opportunities are rarely present in less democratic systems, where there is incoherence between the democratic values and applications of political tolerance. Peffley and Rohrschneider (2003, 244) thus believe in the necessity to evaluate the prospects and limits of the literature of democratization in light of research on political tolerance because they are of the opinion that "it is a widely accepted finding in scholarly work on political tolerance that majorities in advanced democracies usually hold intolerant views and they support democratic rights in the abstract, just as the democratization literature shows." As Russia is a federal system, it provides citizens with multiple access points and at the micro-level, the learning model suggests that democratic activism or using civil liberties enhances political tolerance. Thus, being a federal democratic state, Gibson and Duch (1993, 286) argue that the citizens of Russia support the democratic norms in the abstract

form by being politically intolerant. So, political tolerance is only weakly linked to general democratic norm.

## 4.    Social Attitudes and Tolerance

The study of tolerance includes close observations of the social and cultural attitudes of the individual and groups, existing and nurturing in the society. These observations include the study of the processes, like the individual attitudes towards one's own open or closed group in relation or contrast to the other individual's open or closed groups. The level of individual Tolerance fluctuates with such relation or difference with the other. This concept has been widely spread due to the fact that it reflects the urgency of socialization processes and adaptation of new forms of interpersonal and social interaction (Ananina&Danilov  2015, 488).

According to Ananina and Danilov's(2015, 488) reading of Matskovsky (2001) tolerance is a "qualitative characteristic, but not that of the subject and object of tolerance. Instead, it is a certain quality of interaction between the subject and the object of tolerance, characterized by the willingness of the subject to accept socio-cultural differences of the object, including the external signs and specific features of behaviour". And their reading of Drobizheva (2003, 488) suggests that "tolerance is a personal or group quality manifesting itself as willingness to accept the 'others' the way they are and to interact with them on the basis of understanding and consent".

Banshchikova, Solomonov and Fomina (2015, 916) observe that "the modern social and cultural situation is characterized by an increasingly intense interaction of cultures, ethnicgroups, peoples, mutual influence of diverse cultural systems. At the same time, for groups involved in this process,it often becomes more important to maintain and consolidate their cultural identity." Particularly, while discussing about the effect of such inter identity and inter cultural interaction among youth, they form an opinion that "young people from marginalized ethnic identities balancing between the two cultures failing toadequately master norms and values of any one of them and stumbling over their own identity, often experience intrapersonal conflicts which are symptoms of alienation and irregularity."

Thus, in the study of the religious and ethnic tolerance, it becomes imperative to focus on the minorities who are at the receiving end of intolerance held by the majorities present in the state (Peffley and Rohrschneider 2003, 247 ). Here, particularly, Ethnic tolerance is defined as a "characteristic of willingness to recognize and accept the legitimacy of the culture, traditions, values, behavior and communication patterns, lifestyles of other ethnoses" (ibid). Similarly, Rupande and Abigire (2015, 234) observe the practice of religious tolerance happens "when people allow others to think about God(s) in ways that they do not think are true."Whereas, the idea of social tolerance is regarded as an individual partnership with various social groups in which the individual is manifested in one's social responsibility for oneself and for a group oflike-minded people, including ethical sphere. Similarly, recognition of other social groups' Right to exist is due to the social and psychological maturity of the individual, where he does not only realize his belonging to this or that social group but also shares his value orientation. Thus, tolerance as a personality trait includes, first of all, value-semantic content where the central place is occupied by respect for an individual, his Rights and the freedom to be responsible for his own life (Banshchikova, Solomonov and Fomina, 2015, 920).

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## 5.    Higher Education and Tolerance in Russia

This research primarily focuses on tolerance in higher educational institutes of Russia. The Higher educational institutes often become sites for engendering ruckus and fostering identity differences, giving scope for intolerance. Rupande and Abigire (2015, 235) opine that "political and religious identities are part and parcel of a greater sense of self and a critical component in how students make meaning." However, "higher education has an unprecedented opportunity to influence democratic knowledge, dispositions, and habits of the heart that graduates carry with them into the public sphere" (Ehrlich, 2000). It is also an acknowledged supposition that higher levels of education develop reason to make the students more tolerant, as compared to less educated students. Substantiating this perspective, Hyman and Sheatley (1953) believe that higher education levels leads to higher political tolerance. Similarly, according to Rupande and Abigire's (2015, 238) interpretation of

Lipset(1963), "education subjects the student to cross pressures, which leads to greater tolerance of opposition views." Thus, in the context of understanding tolerance in higher education, a comprehensive interpretation of Cohen (2004) is supplemented by Rupande and Abigire (2015, 238), where they summarise the idea of tolerance in educational institutions by saying that "an attitude of tolerance is only possible when some action or practice is objectionable to us, but there are overriding reasons to allow that action or practice to take place. An act of tolerance is a student's intentional and principled refraining from interfering with an opposed other (or their behaviour) in situations of diversity, where the student believes he/she has the power to interfere".

After considering several perspectives on tolerance while studying the aspect of tolerance in its relation with xenophobic tendencies, some findings provide a closer look at the research of tolerance among the youth learning in the higher educational institutions of Russia. Leonova (2009, 146) concludes that "xenophobic attitudes are not explained by overall political orientation; when socio-demographic factors are controlled, for there is a steady increase of intolerance towards other ethnicities across groups of all political orientations and among highly, as well as, less educated segments of the population. Notwithstanding this, young people (16–25 years of age) are considered to display heightened levels of ethnic intolerance and young people's xenophobia is said to be of the more radical variant." Similarly, Pilkington (2015, 3) in her work, drawing from Back's (1996) approach of exploring ambiguities of expressions in multicultural communities, has attempted to refocus the question of ethnic intolerance in Russian youth as a variable for predicting the prevalence of xenophobia and also explores the ambiguities and contradictions in the articulation of intolerance within the arena of youth.

## 6.      The Relativity of Tolerance

The available research on tolerance extensively deals with its relation with the political theory of exclusion. However, it lacks adequate attention to its relation with the theories of discrimination and equality. So, in this research one of the major

attempts is also to fill this theoretical gap and provide sufficient analytical elucidation for the study of tolerance in Russian educational institutions.

There are few arguments, including Back's (1996, 96) approach of racial discrimination that discusses the existing forms of inequality despite the fact that democratic attitudes fostertolerance. In this context, Habermas (2003, 2) makes a robust judgement by invoking the necessity of the "critique of *prejudices* and combating of *discrimination"* which he unequivocally emphasises as calling "*the fight for Equal Rights and not 'more tolerance".* Supporting this judgement, he argues that the issue of tolerance arises only after the existing prejudices are eliminated. Thus, he articulates an opinion of eliminating prejudices arising out of differential treatments towards one another by discrimination, in order to establish the sense of toleration.

Rupande and Abigire(2015, 237) also, put forth a perspective regarding this view and consider that the spirit of tolerance could be developed in educational institutions by "allowing the practice of multi- faith organisations and inter-denomination crusades", and this kind of practice would "allow the students to celebrate diversity instead of being involved in prejudice and discrimination."

Tolerance has also been an essential ingredient for a peaceful co-existence for a long time. Although, in the western it has been recognized as a hallmark of the age of enlightenment, having its roots in this movement, it existed in eastern theories much before western enlightenment. Myriads of evident examples of the mentions of tolerance have been found in Confucius and Buddhist scriptures in China and India respectively (Flanagan 2013). It has been discussed within as well as without the context of religious domain. Often invoking the spiritual characteristics of tolerance, tolerance bears the same implications in Confucious and Buddhist theories as those of western one. Kristin Scheible (2008), draws his concept of tolerance from the edicts of Emperor Asoka[1], there should be equal respect for all religions in order to gain a state of co-operation. It says,

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[1] Emperor Asoka was the first Emperor in the world to have introduced the idea and practice of Religious Tolerance in his reign, according to textual evidences. The first ever written directives for the practice of Religious Tolerance are found on the Rock Edicts of Dhauli.

*"The faiths of others all deserve to be honoured for one reason or another. By honouring them, one exalts one's own faith and at the same time performs a service to the faith of others."*

With respect to tolerance, this research is particularly about the ethnic and religious tolerance in the higher educational institutions of Russia, try to present a modified mode of the analyses of existing theories by incorporating the perspectives which are hardly given attention. In this respect, I would juxtapose the concept of tolerance with other concepts like recognition, participation, respect, equality, discrimination, rejection, prejudice and democratization.

## 7.      Tolerance: A Necessity

When the scope of tolerance moves beyond attitudinal and behavioural context, it raises several sublime concerns associated with the subject of political theory as well. It leads to deal with the questions like how toleration exists naturally in our day to day nature first. And move towards its foundational nature of morality, normativity and its political praxis. For example it should raise the question tolerance is moralized, elevated to a sublime virtue, intermixed with power and normativity? It should also be able to satisfy the queries – How does tolerance (intolerance) become a precondition of war, a hegemonic practice and moreover, an excuse for exclusion or dominance? How does it take the form of a political instrument for subjugating the histories of suppressed conflicts, for normalising colonial disruptions and for enacting moral fallacies?

Tolerance can be interpreted through myriads of dispositions. Perhaps, there surely are different forms through which one could reach the facets of tolerance. It can be studied as a concept of the political theory, a virtue to possess, an ethos to be followed, an aspiration to lead for, an art to cultivate, a formula of religious or cultural pluralism, a modus Vivendi etc. Considering such variety of the scope for the interpretation of tolerance, this work would deal with tolerance in its form of virtue. Precisely it will begin with the facet which establishes tolerance as a virtue.

Nonetheless, along with looking into various facets of tolerance, it is equally important to explore the problems of tolerance.

According to Galeotti (2002), the model of theoretical concept of tolerance can be summarised in four points. Firstly, the problem of tolerance, both- the genesis and the circumstances, are the significant differences of groups or individuals which are disapproved, disliked or disparaged by other individuals or groups who hold power to interfere with those differences of the former individuals or groups. Secondly, the nature of tolerance is thus, conceptualized as being the suspension of the power of the interference for that disapproved, disliked or disparaged individual or group. Thirdly, the interpretation of tolerance where it is presented as a value can be found in numerous arguments; two of the most prominent are the sceptical one and the moral argument for respect towards other person's or group's autonomy or ideas. Finally, according to Mill's (2003) harm principle, the limits of tolerance are set whenever any third party is in condition of getting harmed by the differences.

Altogether, the theme of tolerance has been a thought-provoking subject of research since the early Enlightenment era. There is a varied literature available related to tolerance. However, we do not find sufficient research, particularly in the context of Russia. Although the socio-political and cultural conditions of Russia provide a credible ground to explore tolerance, there is lack of scholarship with respect to this. Hence, the following factors provide a rational basis for this research:

*Firstly*, the population of Russia comprises of numerous ethnicities and religions. There has been a sustained development in the educational policies here, resulting in increasing number of youth from varied ethnicities and religions joining higher educational institutions for learning. *Secondly*, there are sufficient numbers of minority students who have joined the federal and state universities of Russia. *Thirdly*, it is also observed that majority of the students studying in Russian universities are aware of their respective identities and also aspire for inter cultural sharing. *Finally*, it could be said that the increasing sense of socio-political differences among the youth of Russia (especially the ones in higher education) has the possibility of making them vulnerable to intolerance towards each other. Thus, the pluralistic and multicultural character of its society and politics, combined with

multiple factors giving space for inequality and discrimination resulting in the growth of intolerance, contributes to a great possibility for the examination of ethnic and religious tolerance in Russia, which is the primary objective of my research.

For the findings of the thesis, have two universities have been chosen as the case studies  because, the first university to be studied, i.e. Moscow State University, is situated in Moscow, the Capital of Russia and comprises of students who belong to different religions and ethnicities. There is adequate representation of foreign students also who enhance the intensity of differences of opinions and identities. The second university to be studied, i.e. North Caucasus Federal University is situated at Stavropol, which is situated in the North Caucasus region of Russia. This region comprises of the large number of ethnic identities in Russia. Thus study can be useful and important because these two universities consist of students who represent around 86 different ethnicities.

This study aims to contribute a methodological analysis to the works on moral, social, political and cultural research of Ethnicity and Religion in Russia. It is an attempt to sense the existing spirit of tolerance among the youth, along with an analytical contribution to the theoretical understanding and its implications on the Russian population. The findings of this research will help one to understand the modern basis of co-existence in the higher educational spaces of Russia.

After all, it is moral as well as political significance of tolerance which is closely attached with difference. So, it is essential to understand the engagement of tolerance with respect of the variety of differences. Precisely, there are varied kinds of differences where the necessity of tolerance is more than that of other kind of differences. For example, the religious, ethnic and racial differences are considered more significant with respect to the engagement with tolerance. Whereas the differences like height, weight, hair-colour are not considered for dealing with tolerance. Similarly, differences related to gender preferences, age, language, caste etc are placed in the category of the wider discussion with respect to tolerance. For these considerations, *'respectfor persons'*[2] or *'respect conception*[3]*'* becomes an essential engagement to reach out for differences out of isolation and exclusion. Thus, it

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[2] Reiner Forst – Toleration and Democracy, 2014.
[3]*Ibid.*

becomes an immediate concern for toleration to explore the differences for persistent prejudice and discrimination regarding religious, ethnic, racial etc issue. In order to resolve the tensions coming out as the negative impact of these issues Tolerance prove to be a necessary virtue.

Recognising the necessity of tolerance, the research aims to study the attitude of tolerance among the socio-political and cultural interaction among the students of MSU and NCFU. The findings observe the corresponding prejudices among the students of these universities belonging to different religions and ethnicities. Furthermore, the research attempts to investigate the observations accumulated from the campuses by the process of questionnaire survey in the two mentioned universities of Russia. On this basis, a thorough analysis of this investigation is carried out in order to reach the appropriate inference of any existing tolerance among the sample students. The relationship between tolerance and democratization is one of the most significant approaches of this research. The findings are verified through the relative analysis of tolerance and democratization.

## 8.    Limitations of Research

There are certain limitations that need to be highlighted in order to serve a clear and comprehensible quality of the research. Hence, while noting the problems of the research it should be noted that the thesis firstly, is not designed to explore the formulations and attitudes of 'Intolerance'. Indeed, the concept of intolerance is dealt in the thesis but in limits of its extent. Secondly, as the thesis has focused on the concept of 'Strong'[4] tolerance to find the attitudes of tolerance in the interaction of students, the 'Weak'[5] tolerance is not discussed and formulated in detail. Thirdly, the pattern of questions in the survey questionnaire centres the study of tolerance from the perspective of the majority or the tolerant students learning in the university. Therefore, the study may lack the experiential considerations of the tolerated minority.

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[4]The following chapter discusses these aspects of tolerance.
[5]*ibid*

**9.    Hypotheses:**

1.    There is a sustained sense of ethnic and religious discrimination and rejection among the students learning in the higher educational institutions of Russia, which correspondingly engenders the sense of intolerance in these students.

2.    The increasing ethnic and religious consciousness among the students learning in the higher educational institutions of Russia leads to declining level of tolerance towards each other, thereby undermining the overall process of democratization in these educational institutes.

**10.    Objectives of Research:**

1.    The Study of the mutual Tolerance with corresponding prejudices against one another, among the students belonging to different religions and ethnicities.

2.    To analyse the presence of tolerance in the attitudes and behaviour of the individuals and groups in the higher educational institutes of Russia.

3.    To study the relationship between tolerance and democratization.

**11.    Research Questions:**

1.    What are the significant determinants/factors which determine the levels of the sense of equality and difference among the students belonging to myriad of religions and ethnicities in the higher educational institutions of Russia?

2.    What are the determining factors of interaction which indicate the mutual relationship among the students belonging to different religions and ethnicities in

establishing and enhancing the probability of friendship and intimacy in the Higher Educational Institutions of Russia?

3.      Why do the higher educational spaces, having more number of differences in the forms and articulations of various ethnicities and religions, become vulnerable to engendering intolerance among the students who are studying there?

4.      How does the sense of equality among the students in the higher educational institutions of Russia affects the sense of tolerance for the students belonging to different religions and ethnicities.

5.      Can students, who are generally mutually tolerant,but also harbour prejudices against one another, ensure socially and politically comfortable space for the acquisition of Higher Education?

Does the presence of Tolerance in the attitudes and behaviour of the individuals and groups in the institutes ensure democratization in the higher educational spaces of learning?

## 12.      Research Method:

The focus of this research is to locate the larger sense of toleration among the students of higher educational institutes in Russia. For this purpose, I am studying the cases of two universities, Moscow State University, Moscow and North Caucasus Federal University, Stavropol. The research will be primarily based on survey; however there are some laws and state policies concerning religion etc which will be analysed, along with all the published material on the subject.

The research comprises of the survey of these two universities, which will include questionnaires and interviews of the students, teachers and other staff, following the random sampling method. The sampling is designed to interrogate respondents about their beliefs, lifestyle, socio-political opinions, religious positions, interethnic dialogue etc. By this way, an attempt is made to estimate the particularities of general social attitudes, ethnocentrism and tolerant consciousness of the respondents. A field

trip for data collection and interviews is conducted. Additionally, analysis of the literature available on the topic will also be used, apart from material from the newspapers, journals and the internet. Relevant information from lectures, seminars, workshops would also be used to fill in the gaps.

# Chapter 2

# Tolerance and Democratization

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*"A democracy is more than a government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience."- John Dewey[6]*

## 1.    Introduction

Human progress has maintained its multi-dimensional and dynamic approach. The consistent evolution of global political system is one of the best manifestations of ever progressing humanity. Democracy, as a form of government, has proved its worth by making its influential presence felt in majority of the States around the world. While advocating it as one of the greatest signs of progress, Sen (1999,3) observes that "among the great variety of developments that have occurred in the twentieth century, I did not, ultimately, have any difficulty in choosing one as the preeminent development of the period: the rise of Democracy".

One of democracy's most salient features is Peaceful and Fraternal Co-existence. Democracy is often considered as an efficient mean for the co-existence of myriad individuals and groups with diverse identities. Sen (2009: xiii) opines that "Democracy has to be judged not just by the institutions that formally exist, but by the extent to which different voices from diverse sections of the people can actually be heard". The fulfillment of the state of Peaceful and Fraternal Co-existence demands a form of Democracy whose working is based on the model of harmonious associated living. It manifests in the fraternal "***interaction***[7] *of the different forms of associated*

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[6] Dewey stated this while defining a perspective of democracy in his seminal work 'Democracy and Education'.

[7] In this research it is the primary variable to testify the presence of religious and ethnic tolerance in the attitudes of the youth working in the two case universities.

*life*.[8]" (Dewey 1939, 106). Furthermore, it's functioning ensures the possibility of a mutual social relationship in terms of the associated life among the people who form the society. In order to locate the attitudes of tolerance in the educational spaces, this work emphasizes and considers the above stated social-political and interactive proposition of Democracy.

The work also explores the trajectory of the process by which the establishment of democracy is not only gauged by the structure of the institutions of State, but also the values, social attitudes and behavior of its population. This very process of transition towards a democracy, comprising such institutional and behavioral approach is conceptualized as Democratization.

The discussion points to a need of understanding the approach of democratisation in relational and contextual terms. The discussion would point out democratization in relational terms by contextualizing the concepts[9] of 'institutions' and 'culture'.

Democratization, in a methodical process, transforms the form and structure of the functioning of State mechanisms. On one hand, democratization ensures the institutional reforms and on the other it ensures the normative progress of a society. The realization of democracy depends on the mechanism and efficacy of the process of democratization. It also embarks as a functional spirit among the population of that State. Its essentiality is aptly elaborated by Huntington in his path breaking work, where he marks the transition of regimes by presenting the universal transition in global politics through "*Waves of Democratization[10]*."

The following are very basic questions which bring out the formulation of the criteria of addressing the modern issues, pertaining to the problems of tolerance in the modern society- is democracy really compatible with democracy? What are the forms of

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[8]John Dewey's argument of Democracy's relationship with the associated living, apart from the institutional structures of governance is found in 'Creative Democracy – The Task before Us'.

[9] Contextualizing Pierre Bourdieu's (1990,1991) concepts of 'habitus' and 'dispositions', where the former implies the existence of institutions as the formal/ informal rules that constrain/facilitate social interaction and culture as the habits of thought/behaviour, and the meaning underlying them being the characteristic of a particular group of people. And latter is refers to the structured patterns of behaviour and the norms associated with them.

[10]Huntington, S. P. (1991). *The third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century*.

differences in the society to which tolerance does address? Can the practice of tolerance alone solve the contentious issues of diversity and prejudices in modern democracies? The principle of tolerance establish positive initiatives can hold the flourishing of diverse cultural communities, like the protection of the minority culture through focused structural means via political representation of these cultural minorities? And, Is the modern method including the notion of respect for persons an essential part of the process of the application of tolerance in a positive way?

This work presents, particularly, an exposition of democratization as a 'PROCESS[11]', which negatively, will trace the transcendence of tolerance by moving beyond prejudice, and positively locate the significance of "Respect-Conception" in establishing "Qualitative Equality" (Forst 2004, 2014; 69,319). This process will showcase the comprehensive plot of the formation of democracy based on the initiation of the attitude of Tolerance. It would also project tolerance as a means of social interaction between subject and the object marked by a certain distance in their relationship. Thus, the distance would be gauged as a gap of a democratic transition in the above mentioned process. While sketching the plot of the thesis, the significance of tolerance is specifically located in the process which is considered as a fundamental and pioneering aspect of democracy (Mckinnon 2007).

Tolerance is a necessary virtue in order to achieve an egalitarian state of a successful democracy, and democracy involves the politics of tolerance in its basic structure. Moreover, the relation of tolerance with democratization is considered as one of the mostappropriate methods to discuss the broad goal of the establishment of democracy. To elaborate the location of tolerance, it is very important to first highlight the significance of **'Virtue'.** Not only in democracy, but virtue forms the bedrock of any form of government. To put it categorically in the words of Madison (Huchiston 1962, 77), *"If there be no virtue among us, no form of government can render us secure".* He further says "To suppose that any form of government will secure liberty or happiness without any virtue in the people is an illusion."

In this section of the thesis it is argued that tolerance is a necessary virtue in order to achieve an egalitarian state of a successful democracy and building a co-existent

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[11] As put by Geraint Parry and Michael Moran, while mentioning it with its relationship with the concept of Democracy.

society based on the behavioral attitude of 'Respect' among diverse collective groups and individuals.

## 2.     Tolerance and the Process of Democratization

The process is put in three stages which are as follows –

*i.*      *'Mere'* **Tolerance - An Initial Virtue.**

*ii.*     **The Transcending Tolerance – Beyond Prejudice and Discrimination.**

*iii.*    **The Transcended Tolerance – 'Respect' establishing Democracy.**

Firstly looking at the first point, Sullivan, Pierson, and Marcus (1982, 2) are of the opinion that tolerance is a "willingness to permit the expression of ideas or interests one opposes". In conditions where people have a natural tendency of intolerance by objecting to opposing opinions even in peaceful situations, they must, in other words, reconsider their automatic response, which is a natural intolerance toward groups and ideas they find objectionable. In the course of responsive objections, the actions of the objecting party may lead towards violent methods. In fact most of such courses turn violent, disturbing the peaceful co-existence of the society. Here, being considerate about our own responses becomes one of the necessary conditions of democratization. Tolerance thus, by being a political virtue which restricts violent actions, proves to be the initial step towards the positive building of democracy. While moving further in tracing the course of the process, tolerance, plays a role in the beginning. However critics, including Kant and Thomas Paine, have also pointed out that Tolerance is as "despotic" and "arrogant" like intolerance.

The counter judgments against tolerance mostly form arguments that consider Tolerance as a catalyst which maintains the hierarchical relationship between the tolerant and the tolerated. In such cases, the tolerant mostly belong to the majority or tormentor sections of the society, and the tolerated are the minority or the

tormentedsections of the society. Perhaps the most apt perspective is provided by Goethe, who opines that "Tolerance should be a temporary attitude only; it must lead to recognition."

Secondly, Todd Nelson (Nelson, 2016, 2), in his work "Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination" broadly defines Prejudice as a negative attitude towards a group or towards the members of a group. Often, prejudice becomes a channel to translate ones negative sentiments into discriminatory practices. Prejudice gets its nutrition from essentialist beliefs as well. It has often been observed that essentialist beliefs provide a strong support to the notions and practices of prejudice. Such prejudices often end up as the practice of discrimination *by the reasoning over with the positive justifications of deep-rooted social hierarchies and arrangements.* Thus in this section, the overcoming of prejudice by an individual or a group through the praxis of tolerance marks an important step in the development towards attaining the egalitarian living conditions or, in the words of Forst(2004, 319), *"Qualitative Equality"*.

Thirdly, the policies and practices of 'mere[12]' tolerance are considered as lacking social recognition and respect. Here, by using the term 'mere' tolerance, It is meant - tolerance with its limitations that is the praxis of Tolerance which has not yet transcended beyond towards the attainment of 'Qualitative Equality'. Honneth's (1995, 129) reckoning of mere tolerance also exhibits the forms of unequal treatment in a society having a complex hierarchical structure. This context of tolerance in a peculiar location of unjust and discriminating social structure of the hierarchical prejudice facilitates the negative collective feelings of exclusion. The approach of 'mere' tolerance leaves nothing but the decreased or excluded sense of belonging among the 'othered' or tolerated individuals of groups. The practices and beliefs of this approach reveal the fact that these tolerated groups are merely being tolerated rather than being valued as also posited by Baumeister and Leary (1995, 497). It has been observed that the attitudes and behaviours of the tormentor towards the othered communities or groups, result in threatening their sense of respectable being. Such exclusion and othering of the tolerated, pushes them towards the larger margins of negative experiences which ultimately burden their lives with decreased well-being

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[12] John Horton, 1996, Toleration – An Elusive Virtue, Princeton University Press; David Heyd (edt)

and reduced self –esteem. However, such conditions of social, political and cultural hierarchy leading towards injustice in different forms of prejudice, intolerance and violence can be checked.

It can be done by tolerancetranscended in order to establish 'Respect' among the diverse individuals and groups of society, which is elaborated conceptually in this work in the course of the following put detailed explanation.

The process is discussed in an elaborated manner in that exposits its development towards the achievement of requisite criteria to prove its fulfilment of democratization.

### i.      "*Mere*" Tolerance: An Initial Virtue

Tolerance is one of the most necessary norms of human behaviour essential to establish a cordial and co-existent environment. Having the features of felicitating the building of such environment, tolerance proves to be a desirable quality among the population of any state aspiring to be a peaceful and co-existent State. A democratic or a State in the process of democratization is a kind of state whose population aspires to bear virtues in order to achieve the desired democratic state of affairs. Liberal, social, republican etc; any kind of democracy highly holds the value of virtue.

Democracy needs the establishment of virtues for its sustenance. The non-realization of the presence of virtue from democracy cannot ensure the harmonious dwelling of the population of a state. Among all the effective virtues, tolerance is the one of the most important virtue for the functioning of democracy. As it is going to be elaborated further - Tolerance is the most important virtue which is necessary for the initiation of the process of democratization. It should be very rightly pointed out as democracy does require virtues and that toleration is one of the most important.

After posing a question about the existence of virtue among us, Madison (1977) brings up his notion of a government without virtue. According to him, it is a wretched situation if the reply is in negation. He further observes that no form of government, no theoretical checks can render the population secure without the existence of virtue. And, the supposition of any form of government will secure

liberty or happiness without any virtue among the population, according to him is a chimerical idea.

The virtue of tolerance not only plays an important role in the initiation of democracy, but it is also equally significant in the sustenance of democracy. Etzioni (1992, 21) holds that tolerance is a virtue necessary for the sustenance of democracy. The maintenance of the practice of virtue among the population ensures the smooth functioning of democracy by lessening the scope of volatile conflicts eventually giving rise to the disturbance in the social fabric of a state. By such application of tolerance, a state checks the anti-democratic elements and resists its society's fall towards a violent state of affairs.

In other words, the contemporary realization of the ideal of "government by virtue" rests upon a much less optimistic view of human nature. It thus makes room for the political institutions of liberal democracy as well. Democracy becomes possible with the blend of normative human behaviour with an institutional mechanism. Precisely, "Democracy has to be judged not just by the institutions that formally exist but by the extent to which different voices from diverse sections of the people can actually be heard (Sen 2009, xiii)"

While linking tolerance with the system of government, the necessity of associating it with politics becomes one of the primary concerns among the scholarship. Democratization, the establishment of democracy with respect to the flourishing models of pluralism and inclusion, and also the power relationship involved in the politics of tolerance invokes the concerns for a comprehensive outlook on the issue. Fortunately, It has been well observed among the many trends in new theories of tolerance by thinkers such as Wendy Brown (2006), Rainer Forst (2013), Michael Walzer (1997) and SlavojŽižek (2008), the most interesting one concerns the link between the study of power and the kind of socio-political relationships that a 'tolerant' society enables through its commitment to norms of democracy, in particular with regard to inclusion and pluralism. Moreover, it should be noted that for the development in such considerate scholarship, tolerance is getting recognized as a "cardinal virtue of democratic deliberation" (Barker 2015, 116). The discussions comprising the socio-political implications of tolerance to bring about a tolerant

society by the emphasis on democratic norms is providing a necessary foundation for the contextualization of tolerance.

Similarly, emphasising the latter perspective over the more formal-institutional point of view, Thomas Fröhlic (2017, 228) opines, "democracy does not solely rest on constitutional institutions and procedures, but also on individual attitudes, virtues, and values deemed favourable for sustaining a democratic order." here are also individual virtues that sustain a democracy, such as toleration of one another and commitment to liberty (Etzioni 1992, 21).

The Virtue of Tolerance can be categorised into three categories (Licht 2001) that are - Political, Intellectual and Moral. According to him, it is political in the sense because in a democratic set-up, it plays a vital role in securing the political rights and interests of the minorities. It is an intellectual virtue for it is a form of prudence which is affective in running the art of democracy through the mechanisms of constitution and jurisprudence. Similarly, it is also a moral virtue for in a classical way it deals with the management of the "passions" of the population of a state; it addresses the fear and anger that are reactions (negative) to 'otherness'.

The contextualization of the virtue of tolerance includes different opinions in the light of this light. Among which, taking notes from Bowlin (2016) and Rawls (1993), the characterization of this contextualization can be observed. Pointing out the presence of tolerance in the normative and descriptive theory, Jones (2006, 123) marks that tolerance has a long history both as a "personal virtue and as a political ideal."

Bowlin (2016, 162) presents the virtue of tolerance by introducing St. Thomas opinion of virtue where he locates it through Aristotalian perspective. By this point of view, "the virtue of a thing is that which makes its subject good, and its work good likewise. Consequently wherever we find a good human act, it must correspond to some human virtue". Hence, by putting tolerance in the value of a good act which restrains a bad act of a person, it possesses the quality of a virtue morally. This point of view can be considered to recognize the moral context of the virtue of tolerance.

While calling tolerance a virtue, Rawls (1993, 195) locates it in the political and intellectual context. He contextualizes the virtue of tolerance in the constitutional service of safeguarding the liberty and freedom. According to him the virtue

discourages various kinds of religious and racial discrimination. Thus, by securing the rights and interests of the minorities the virtue of tolerance proves its intellectual and political capacity.

"Tolerance is a liberal virtue: it is among the most honorable of the respectable habits of liberal citizens (Kautz 1993, 610)." The political location of the tolerance also leads to an equally essential discussion about its context. Typically, tolerance is triumphantly celebrated as a significant virtue in the liberal tradition. Since the onset of western liberal ideas, it has been invoked by the stalwarts of the liberal political thought. Moreover, the virtue of tolerance is also considered as the foundation of the renaissance movement. In the liberal tradition of ideas the idea of democracy has an immensely honored value. And, "toleration may be said to be that political requirement by which democracy, rule of the majority, becomes liberal democracy, which secures the rights and interests of minorities."(Litch 2001, 10). Naturally the liberals have associated the virtue of tolerance to the broader idea of democracy in a very constructive way. For deliberating a well functioning liberal democracy, tolerance has been associated with the basic norms and values of the behavioral system of the population of a liberal democratic state. It is idealized for citizens of this state to carry out their individual or group actions by giving cognizance to the values of tolerance. As the citizens of a liberal democratic state the citizens may also be constitutionally bound to practice the norms of the tolerance virtuously. In this political context, if liberal democracy requires "virtues," toleration would seem to be cardinal (Murphy 1997, 601).

Among myriad interpretations, attaching philosophical meaning to the significance of the virtue of tolerance, the most relevant is the one which considers tolerance as an initial virtue. Although, the discussion entailing a comprehensive study of the virtue of tolerance has been explored in the scholarship on toleration, there remained less focus on an argument in the favor of projecting the virtue of tolerance as an Initial virtue. Yet, there are numerous arguments supporting the ineffectiveness and limitations of toleration.

It is a virtue, which does make refrain one from exercising one's own capacity or power to interfere with others' action or idea that deviates from one's own opinions

over important issues even though one morally disapproves of it. The practice of this virtue is generally known as tolerance. However, the virtue may not remain virtue or it may lose its effectiveness of being a virtue for 'good' if it is unable to provide a condition of respect and equality among the subjects and the objects of this virtue. Hence, in the same context, as it has been already observed tolerance is also often termed as an "*elusive virtue*"[13] and '*an impossible virtue*'[14]. There are also several observations about toleration which have systematically zeroed down to bring about the "*limits of toleration*"[15] as well as "*paradox of tolerance*"[16].

The limitations of tolerance restrict the value of virtue by restricting the good for the actors of tolerance. Primarily, the most commonly accepted perspective of tolerance where it is seen as only having the negative connotation of non-interference has a strong tendency of excluding the tolerated as devalued actors. The discrimination happened out of such practice of tolerance hampers the mosaic of pluralistic and democratic society; although the virtue is supposed to provide a fulfilling meaning to these forms of governments. Also, the practice of tolerance is often been observed to be patronizing for having a rigid attitude for the beliefs and actions of the tolerated. Humans are compartmentalised and the difference is further glorified in order to prolong the state of deemed hierarchy. Thus, tolerance has the tendency of undermining the conditions of making the moral discourse, judgement and debate possible. As, human nature is expressed in the engagement of moral colloquy, the virtue of tolerance prevents the full expression of this sort (Bowlin 2017, 176).Doorn (2012, 1) goes even further while quoting Schuyt (2001) that "Tolerance is a flawed virtue for a flawed society."

A citizenry of modern polity is heterogeneous for its character of having number of intersecting identities ranging from race, religion, ethnicity, class and culture. Any practical ideal of democracy should accept this basic element of a citizenry

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[13]David Heyd, 1996, Toleration – An Elusive Virtue, Princeton University Press; David Heyd (edt)

[14]Bernard Williams 1996, Toleration – An Elusive Virtue, Princeton University Press; David Heyd (edt)

[15]Forst, 2014, Tolerance and Democracy.

[16] Peter Jones, Toleration, Recognition and Identity. *The Journal of Political Philosophy:* Volume 14, Number 2, 2006, pp. 123–143

comprising of such wide heterogeneity. In such conditions of a diversity, the citizenry is required to make decisions considering the reasons of their deliberations as public, especially for the ideal of a state is supposed to be a deliberative one. Such conditions of diversity raise the possibility of irresolvable and serious conflicts too. In the case of the democracy which involves deliberations of the people, the citizenry has an equal say, standing and the capacity to influence the deliberations in the process of the resolution of the conflicts in the cases of the emergence of such conflicts.

Tolerance becomes a virtue as well an ideal of public reason in the circumstances of immensely diversified society for both – the citizenry as well as the institutions of the state Thus, in the cases of conflict resolutions, building over the difficult and silent virtue of tolerance, it becomes more necessary for the citizens to inculcate the practices of deliberations. The deliberation in democracy demands the citizens of a state to find the most appropriate, possible and mutually shared solution of conflicts. Tolerance in the negative sense of non-interference becomes very limited in such practical cases where the democratic deliberation is needed by the critical engagement of the citizenry among themselves. In fact, such cases of participatory democracy needs a cooperative and engaged deliberation of the citizens. The cases of such a form of democracy which is based on the deliberations of its citizens may lead towards undemocratic situations including the dominance of majority in the political affairs. So, in order to balance out the drawbacks of such a political state, where both tolerance and deliberations by the citizens and state are not conducive to a democratic state the necessity of the "*deliberative theo*ry"[17] of tolerance arise (Bohman 2003, 757).

Comprehensively, the virtue of tolerance with leading positive value is the necessity of the democratic state. In the distinction of the 'negative' or 'weak' tolerance from 'positive' or 'strong' tolerance, the 'deliberative tolerance' is certainly located in the latter part. So, here the aspect of 'mere' tolerance is taken over by the positive aspect of 'deliberative tolerance' which rationally suggests the role of 'mere' tolerance as only playing the role of being an 'initial virtue'.

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[17] James Bohman, 2003, in "Deliberative Toleration," Political Theory discusses the norms of tolerance while classifying it in two parts – Strong Tolerance and Weak Tolerance. These two classifications are associated with Positive Tolerance and Negative Tolerance respectively.

Although, tolerance is a virtue which should be practiced in order to establish peace, order, fraternity and democracy, it cannot guarantee such aspired state with only its negative conception. Rather, it may prove to be antithetical to the creation of a democratic order for its limitations and paradoxes. While putting forth the demerit of tolerance, Paine (Foner 1998, 291) posits it corresponding to intolerance. Moreover, he also reaches up to the length of calling tolerance no less despotic than the intolerance. A similar relevant aspect is supplemented by Laegaard (2010, 23), according to whom tolerance is based on a negative attitude that is perhaps inherently oppressive and unjust, therefore it should be extended to the positive acts based on positive attitudes.

One of the most plausible criticisms of the context of tolerance is done by Goethe (Hutchinson 1998, 115). He very aptly brings forth the paradox s of tolerance by posing tolerance with insult. However, he prudently points out the exact limitations by constructing a needed positive way out for the virtue of tolerance. According to him, *"Tolerance should be a temporary attitude only; it must lead to recognition."*


Democratization needs tolerance. In fact, it needs tolerance to lead a positive way out towards recognition. In the present day scenario of a modern democratic world order, it is not very surprising to perceive tolerance and democracy at par. This parity is perhaps, an achievement of the modernity involving the constitutional state and democracy. However, as it is been observed 'mere' tolerance would prove unable to provide the necessary aspired state of democracy. By the observation of the limitations of tolerance where it may not play the role of virtue it is clear that either there are some issues not to be tolerated because they should not be permitted; or there are issues which should not be objected so they fail to become the object of toleration. In such a way, as it has been already observed, tolerance tends to become antithetical to its virtue and people may face intolerance. Thus, when the tolerance is considered as a threat, the demand for more than 'mere' tolerance is replaced by the demand of tolerance (Horton 1996, 36). And the demand for more than mere tolerance is needed for the progress for a democratic state. Such demand showcases the transcendence from the negative valuation of tolerance which is an essential ingredient of tolerance.

The policy of mere tolerance connoting inaction, which is characterised as "old toleration"[18] is contradictory to the policy of positive tolerance which demands progressive action. Its basic concern of the latter is not to allow citizenry to do something to which others might object but ensure recognition and respect to their identities in order to imbibe the environment of inclusive democracy in the society.*Mere toleration*, according to Gutmann (1994), by distinguishing toleration from *respect*, performs the proper, positive normative role that some ascribe to positive toleration.Its primary concern is not to allow people to do something to which others might object but to accord respect and standing to their identities so that there is no bar to their full inclusion in society. Such recognition is necessarily public in character; it cannot be secured by a strategy of privatisation. It also requires action rather than inaction and so has a positive character that contrasts with the negative policy of non-interference that characterised old toleration.

The policies and practices of tolerance are perceived evident of lacking social recognition and respect. Thus, the approach of mere tolerance exhibits the forms of unequal treatment in a society having the complex hierarchal structure. (Honneth, 1995,129). This context of tolerance in a peculiar location of unjust and discriminating social structure, the hierarchal prejudice facilitates the negative collective feelings of exclusion (Guru 2009). The approach of mere tolerance leaves nothing but the decreased or excluded sense of belonging among the 'othered'-tolerated individuals of groups. The practices and beliefs of this approach reveal the fact that these tolerated groups are merely being tolerated rather than being valued. (Baumeister and Leary 1995, 497).  It is been observed very figuratively that the attitudes and behaviour towards the othered communities or groups result in threatening their sense of respectable being. Such exclusions and otherings of the tolerated pushes them towards the larger margins of negative experiences which ultimately burden their lives with decreased well-being and reduced self –esteem (Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran 2016, 73).

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[18] Peter Jones, Toleration, Recognition and Identity. *The Journal of Political Philosophy:* Volume 14, Number 2, 2006, pp. 123–143

Tolerance transcends in order to take a positive authority by establishing equal respect of the majority with the othered communities. According to Gutmann (1996), it goes beyond mere toleration by distinguishing toleration from respect, where the latter performs the proper, positive normative role that some ascribe to positive toleration. In the process tolerance has a negative role that is to go beyond Prejudice and Discrimination, in the attitudes against it.

## ii.     The Transcending Tolerance – Beyond Prejudice and Discrimination

Accessing politically, the determinants of tolerance should include individual characteristics marking the presence of prejudicial attitudes. This may include dogmatism, acute irrationality and closed mindedness as well indicating the levels of intolerance. Correspondingly, in a collective sense the political participation of the people and their commitment to democratic ideals and values too determine the integrity of tolerance and intolerance.

As an approach Negativity[19] is shared by both the concepts, that is, prejudice and tolerance. The former builds a wall of discrimination in the perspectives of the individuals against the persons of different beliefs and practices. It hinders the prospective interactions between two groups or individuals. By the formation of such barriers the person on one side of the perspective may fall to the actions of resentment, grudge and hatred. However, the latter (negativity of tolerance) comprises of the feelings of forbearance and accommodation. These characteristics make a notable difference in between the negativity held and posed by prejudice as well as tolerance. As noted, one of the most notable negative factors of tolerance marks its location as a barrier against discrimination (Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran 2016, 83) distinctly notes that *"it will be more difficult to convince others of the negative implications of toleration."* It is also considered that there are prejudiced people who neglect the aspect of justice because they optimistically believe in certain ideas. In

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[19] The proposition is advocated by Horton (1995) as an evaluation of tolerance. It is elaborated in the following discussions with its antitheses as the 'Positive' tolerance. It is also supplemented by similar arguments by (Mendus 1989 et al).

this case too, they may be tolerant as well as prejudiced. Toleration is the reason for paradoxes and also of epistemic conundrum. Perhaps this is the reason why it is mostly considered as the most difficult and necessary of political virtues. Without it, justice (however conceived) is unachievable.

Tolerance has a unique association with discrimination.Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran(2016, 77) mentions Schuyt's (1997) opinion that "tolerance begins where discrimination ends - It involves the intentional suppression of the inclination to oppress out-group norms and practices." Perhaps, the discrimination changes its form in association with tolerance. It cannot be entirely said that with the beginning of tolerance discrimination happens. It involves the intentional suppression of the inherent bent of ones will to oppress the 'othered' beliefs and practices. But, the assertion of this fact cannot suggest the end of discrimination as well.

Perhaps, tolerance with a weak sense is concerned with those feelings which are not transformed into the behaviour of negation. The suppression model indicates the location of negative beliefs simultaneously, with the values and norms which are rather unprejudiced(Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran 2016, 77). There are various models which attempt to comprehend this very complex structure of prejudice. Among these, two of the prominent models formulate the structure on the basis of one's need to be considered unprejudiced by anybody including him/her-self). Here, the first model, the dissociation model of prejudice, recommends that conscious normative and moral beliefs can override implicit negative stereotypes and attitudes. And the second model suggests that normative and moral standards make people internally motivated to control their prejudicial feelings. In this way, Prejudice becomes a channel to translate ones negative sentiments into discriminatory practices (Crandall and Eshleman et al 2003, 404-446)

Prejudice gets its nutrition from the essentialist beliefs as well. It has often been observed that essentialist beliefs hold a strong support to the notions and practices of prejudice. Such prejudices often end up in the practice of discrimination by the reasoning over with the positive justifications of deep-rooted hierarchies and arrangements. (Haslam et al 2002, 94).

**A.      Tolerance in Binary:**

Tolerance is enacting negatively as well as positively. In order to present the argument simply with the binary of negative and positive tolerance, it is imperative to simplify briefly the same classification of tolerance.

Toleration is considered in two kinds of variants – Negative Tolerance and Positive Tolerance.

a)      **Negative Tolerance** entails **Weak Toleration**. This kind of toleration is associated with the behaviour or activities which are directed towards the attainment of certain desired state of affair undoing or overcoming certain undesired state of affair. This negation is visible in activities or behaviour which demand, for example – Freedom from religious persecution or racial prejudice. ( Deveaux 1998, 407)

b)      **Positive Tolerance** entails **Strong Toleration**. This kind of toleration is associated with the behaviour or activities which are directed towards the attainment of certain desired state of affair by supporting specific practices or methods which aims to build a desired qualitative atmosphere. It is also considered to be implying virtuous conduct (Mendus et al 1989, 12).

The binary of Negative and Positive tolerance is also closely associated with the structure, working and mechanism of the majority-minority distinction in the state. This association provides an empirical ground to determine the democratic processes of the concerned state. In the scheme of the democratic processes, the Negative and Positive toleration seem to be directly proportional to the substances of Negative and Positive Rights respectively. The Positive Rights are more likely to be seen related with the interests of the Majority of population who seek the extension of democratic rights in a positive way, whereas, the negative rights are sought largely by the Minorities.

Weak toleration is suited in the contexts of the non-democratic states where the presence of prejudice and discrimination apparently evident on the basis of religious and ethnic basis. Strong toleration, while moving beyond the analytical reason of prejudice and discrimination and making the basis of psychological processes of moral disapproval, raises many novel questions for socio-psychological research as well (Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran 2016, 79).

The distinction of Negative and Positive tolerance is the thread of the overview of this chapter in order to construct the requisite theme. Binding the arguments in this thread, the simplification of the chapter shall constitute the application of both the significant classifications of toleration - Negative and Positive.

## B.      The Context of the Transcendence of Tolerance

The historical development of the concept of tolerance has its roots in the human efforts to majorly deal with the tensions created while dealing with the *harmful* and *violent* effects of religious conflicts. Since the commencement of reflections and studies on tolerance[20], the process of its evolution emphasise the role of religion in causing as well as engendering the cultural fissures among individuals and groups of diverse identities. Moreover, the development in the versatility of the human identities has been witnessing a major shift in the function of the virtue of tolerance in dealing with the tensions created by the ever-growing human differences.

Eventually, the contemporary context of the concept of tolerance leads the research towards the widening of the scope and methodology in a rather holistic way. Globalization has become the major agent of the integration of diverse human identities in the modern world. The results of the persistent growth of the phenomenon of globalization caused massive immigration, giving the way for numerous reasons for human population to come together and inter-mix their respective identities. The archaic tension between the religious and non-religious population, now, has taken a drastic shift and taken a form of tension between diverse

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[20] Dates back to the initial phase of Enlightenment, where Tolerance rallied with the ideals like Liberty and Equality.

identities constituting versatile religions, ethnicities, races, castes etc. The need of the human population to live with multi- (religious, ethnic and racial) identities has become the need of this globalized age. Along with this rise in the geographical and cultural encounters of deemed fusion of diverse identities the causes of discords are spawning furiously. These discords make a fertile ground to engender prejudiced perspectives giving an easy way to intolerance. A glaring example of this type of tension among such globalized society is of the Western society and its notions about 'Islam' and 'Muslims'. Here, Muslims are labelled as the *Indigestible* minority and the values and norms of Islam are often considered incompatible with Western values (Huntington 2004).

The citizenship's notion of 'Us and Them' is majorly a misbalance ending up in giving an upper hand to the tolerating individuals or group. The gap of tolerance separating the tolerating from the tolerated is in many ways responsible for the negative social-psychological consequences of being tolerated. In this regard it is observed that the sense of belonging, control, self respect, identity and the desire for collective action is adversely affected (Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran 2016, 80). The distinction of 'Us and Them' is often associated with the notion of 'Majority and Minority' respectively. The critiques of the 'Strong' tolerance often argue that the question of strong tolerance does not apply to the excluded lot, who are deprived of their humanity. Thus, there remains no need for the tolerating to tolerate those who are considered as non-humans or less-humans for these tolerated groups are removed from the moral concern by getting rejected, ignored and excluded.

The significance of shared humanity proceeds in defining the norms of intergroup relations. In fact, it is always the shared background on which the intergroup distinctions are classified. It also causes comparisons among diverse groups. The moral basis for the evaluation of intergroup norms, beliefs or procedures which are not to be tolerated for the defiance of basic human rights are largely the contribution of the norms of sharing. Such inter-connectivity and sharing leads to reciprocity among diverse groups.

Reciprocity among the fellow citizens of a State is one of the basic features to realize the tolerant relationship among the citizenship. It is noted that the presence of

immigrant minorities is often tolerated by the society where they have settled even though their fellow believers in the other part of the world may be *brutally intolerant,* however, they cannot practice intolerance in the settled society (Walzer 1997, 81). This one way relationship, bars the tolerated of the opportunity of being on the equal status with those who are the tolerant in such society. This kind of relationship among the citizens is responsible for creating the social hierarchal barriers leading to more intergroup differences and prejudices. Here, the tolerated are not reciprocating and hence the democratic value of equality gets loosened. Precisely, the tolerance for the citizens who fail to reciprocate weaken the roots of equality in a State. Thus, the principle of reciprocity is very crucial for the tolerant relationship among the citizens of a State.

However, the Political authorities of State also play a vital role in maintaining the difference of the tolerant 'us' and tolerated 'they' (Allport 1954). The politicians following populist propaganda, emphasise their capacity of their 'our' model of tolerance by segregating certain communities which apparently threaten to destroy their notions of society (Blommaert and Verschueren2002, 11-124). In many cases the classification of 'us and them' showcases the 'them' of having the character of being 'intolerant'. It is observed that, in many cases the 'us'- authorities of a State, playing the role of the tolerant regime tend to maintain the latent inequality among this intergroup. While maintaining the difference they, instead of making a classification on the basis of hierarchy, do it by differentiating the values and norms of their respective groups.

There also exists an approach which preserves as well as justifies the capacity of the 'us', the - tolerant to uphold the difference between 'them', the – tolerated. Moreover, according to this approach the former possess the capacity of interfering with the norms and practices of the latter. This approach is known as the *Permission Understanding[21]*. This approach espouses toleration as the power of the majority to

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[21] According to this the dominant majority has the power to interfere in the beliefs and practices of a minority; however it practices the attitude of Tolerance. Specifically, in this approach the former allows the latter certain privileges on their own specified conditions.

interfere in the affairs of the minority while tolerating these affairs (Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran 2016). Similarly, the reasonableness of tolerance justifies the negative aspects of tolerance that explicates its transcendence beyond prejudice and discrimination.

## C.    Transcendence and the Permission Conception

In the process of tolerating minority by a majority, one of the most significant factors is the hierarchal status. The efforts of a majority are directed towards the preservation of the dominant status in the affairs of state. Hence the status of directing a permission to the minority to live according to its norms and customs assures the dominant position of the majority in a State. This is done by the majority by claiming to tolerate the minority, perhaps until the minority accepts this submissive position in the society. The minority is not given the power to claim the equal status in the state of affairs, given the acceptance of the permission understanding. Thus, those among the 'them' category - the tolerant, compromise with the equal status in the tolerant relationship among citizens.

According to the *vertical[22]* notion of equality, the citizens are devided into two classes – first class and second class respectively. Through the perspective the tolerant and the tolerated are also divided into first and second class respectively. Particularly, the second class citizens, in this case of tolerance are a governance of permission. In the words of Foucault 'It permits instead of forbidding. The result of the practice of this kind of Toleration bestows freedom of exclusionary inclusion (Forst 2014, 69). This kind of Toleration bestows certain liberties and also secures them till some extent, but at the cost of the domination of the Second Class by the First Class (Citizens). Thus, on the one hand, it grants persecuted minorities a certain security and certain liberties, on the other hand, it is a continuation of domination by other means.

While tolerating, the majority often develop ill-will and hatred towards the minorities. This kind of attitude ends up leaving the majority being dismissive and indifferent of

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[22] Catriona Mckinnon, *Social Theory and Practice*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (January 2013): 1-18

the minority. In the course of this kind of negative attitude, disparage of the minority gets implicitly affirmed in the society. As such attitude is established in the general notions of the former identities, the tolerated norms and practices of the minority deviate from being normative to being inferior. This transcendence of the tolerated norms devalues the identity of the minority. The intergroup membership in a citizenship is threatened of its value (Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran 2016, 84). Moreover, this kind of toleration is detrimental to the citizenship as it undervalues the self-identity of the members of the minority communities. Such threats may hamper self-esteem and well being among the tolerated (Branscombe et al 1999, 135). Such tolerant attitude may prove to a vehicle of oppressing the othered identities. According to Marcuse (1965, 81), "what is proclaimed and practiced as tolerance today, is in many of its most effective manifestations serving the cause of oppression". This un-equal relationship of the tolerator and the tolerated can be summed up in Walzer's (1997, 52), statement where he categorically states that "to tolerate someone else is an act of power; to be tolerated is an acceptance of weakness". The location of tolerated connotes a form of inferiority, giving a way to an undermined sense of control and worth.

However, in a Multicultural idea of toleration, people accept the cultural differences even if they do not agree with the beliefs and practices of the tolerated cultural identities. People recognize the differences in the society, leading towards greater prospects of toleration among the intergroup. According to (Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran 2016) "Citizenship implies membership of a particular polity and involves the acceptance of other group identities as moral and political equals". For the moral and political implications of the State's policy, the citizens are ought to accept the diverse norms and practices even if they object to it.

Moreover, as we have observed that the need for the virtue of Toleration has its roots in the existing disparity among the human society. Disparity, predominant in the form of social exclusion, discrimination and inequality in the society also provide requisite reasons for the practice of tolerance. The manifestation of toleration in persistent inequality, however, is justified by the Reasons for tolerating the 'tolerated'.

## D.    TranscendingTolerance and Reasonableness

Suppose a person to be a racist. This person practices racism by holding a deep prejudice against certain community and believes in his own community's superiority over it. S/he despises the persons, beliefs and activities of this other community. Being in the position of power, this person is capable of restricting the freedom of the people of the other community. However, s/he holds back this power of restricting the freedom of the members of the other community, despite having the inferior opinion of it. This person is positively showcasing the virtue of tolerance in his attitude. This person is a tolerant racist. "Moreover, the more strongly racist such a person is, the more she must exercise restraint in holding back (for the right reasons), hence, the more tolerant she is, hence, the more virtuous she is (Carter 2013, 203)."

Similarly, there is a possibility of having several of such seemingly present oxymoron, throwing light on the deeper aspects of the virtuous toleration. For example there can exist tolerant sexist, tolerant casteist etc. Noticeably, what makes these persons (eg. A tolerant racist) tolerant is their respective 'Reasonableness' of being a tolerant. These tolerant persons may present the reasonability of being a tolerant by three reasons, which according to Forst (2014, 65) are called the *conceptions* of tolerance. In this particular light, the *paradox of a tolerant racist[23]* is considered one of the most discussed cases in the problems of tolerance that demands a plausible solution (Carter 2013, 195).

Occurrences of the instances which make the tolerant persons to justify their ethical conflicts may not be always verifiable or falsifiable in the rational terms. These occurrences providing a ground for reasonable disagreements also make the practice of tolerance possible (Forst2014, 68). Reasonable disapprovals of a belief or a culture also add an ethical value to the reasons of toleration by creating a space for the rational criticisms of the tolerated systems. In any social system, criticisms are likely to be accepted over stereotyping of degrading the human-hood of people. Criticisms may include exploring the lifestyle, beliefs and practices of the tolerated group which are considered as different or antithetical to the ideological or practical preferences of

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[23]The phrase is introduced by John Horton (1994).

the tolerant. These opinions may not intend to demean the social value of the tolerated. So, this approach of reasonability of an act of toleration implies any activity towards the tolerated should be based on the reasonable judgements. Indeed these judgements can not involve emotional whims of insecurity, fear or hatred.

This conception is considered to be a primary component among the structural conceptions of tolerance. The quality of the rejection and acceptance is relative to and perhaps determined by the degree of the objection component of these conceptions of tolerance. Rejection of a norm or practice is dependent on the levels of the objection reached by a tolerant in the process of becoming a tolerant. Similarly, objection initiates the process of reaching the Acceptance conception. By processing the decisive process to reach the objective of being a tolerant, a person has to have a sense of objection towards the tolerated. The centrality of the conceptions of the tolerance is held by the objection component. In fact, the degrees of toleration increase with increase in the strength of objection component (Horton 1996, 35).

As it has been discussed in the previous sections, *negatively*, the practice of tolerance includes the acts of not restricting the ideas despite being against it. In such instances of tolerance where the party having the capacity of imposing restrictions on 'other' notions, the tolerant largely integrate the objection component in the decisions of not-restriction.

According to Horton (1996), the objection component implies a negative judgement classifying a general distinction between dislike and disapproval. This distinction is lays a ground for the further reasoned understanding of the relative implications of other two components and specifically, the role played by the objection in moulding the further course towards the development of the other conceptions of tolerance. Thus, the former classification (dislike) of the objection component can be observed in the subtle way mostly in the negative attitude of the tolerant towards the norms and practices of those they might tolerate. These negative attitudes are manifested in their behaviour and feelings of hatred, dislike, disparage or distaste for the 'other'(s) norms and practices.

However, the latter classification involving the module of disapproval provides the rational ground for the objection of the norms and practices of 'other' (s) by

providing particular reasons for considering specific norms or practices 'wrong' or 'bad'. This classification leads the objection component towards the opening of the relative implications of the rejection and acceptance component. Objection is an essential component of tolerance for the question of tolerance does not arise without objection (Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran2016, 88).

The distinction ensures the dynamicity of the component of objection. The quality of objection creates the path between the binary of prejudiced and disliked rejection and a respected acceptance. Thus, it makes possible the change of degrees of the prejudice by presenting a model of rational approach of attitude towards the other-groups. This change makes easy transition of the strong and hard opinions against these other-groups towards flexible views. Perhaps, "people can become acclimated to ideas and practices they once found very offensive." (Chong 1994, 26).

The relaxation in the hard opinions of people occurred because of the objection conception may not mean the complete extinction of objections or acceptance of the already objected ideas and practices. Rather, this kind of adjustments makes the situation of socio-cultural interactions among inter-groups behaviourally balanced and eases the interactive strain. The impact of toleration on the larger socio-political interactive domain through such modes of behavioural and practical adjustments can be very effective in bridging the negative gaps among inter-groups. The reasonableness of Tolerance can be located between the two aspects of objection and acceptance.

### E.      Transcendence of Tolerance: A Justification

Tolerance, in an ordinary perception, implies that one is bound to rely on the "good grace" of the majority. It is experienced as an act of kindness from the tolerant, whereas the tolerated should be thankful of this act. Also, the tolerated are expected to be thankful towards the tolerated for being allowed to express their identity among the majority of tolerant. Their (tolerated) expression is the manifestation of their dependent and vulnerable status in the society. Here, the tolerated becomes dependent on the gestures of the majority and are unable to hold control of their own beings. By

locating themselves in such a dependable and hapless position, the tolerated end up feeling their decreased sense of control over their own lives. Such reductions in the controls often undermine personal and group worth. Correspondingly, recent psychological researches has shown that such a hapless situation could lead the tolerated (individuals here) towards the feelings of depression and helplessness and this may reduce their willingness to act collectively against social inequality (Zomeren 2008, 506).

For its negative context, the condition of the transcendence of tolerance should be highlighted taking the "*paradox of the tolerant racist*", which demands the tolerant person to overcome the racist objections instead of just being a tolerant person (Forst 2014, 74). The connotation of overcoming the racist objections is directly proportional to the transcendence of tolerance from the prejudices. If the supposed actor who's presumably the tolerant racist in this case is a mere tolerant person, then it is so because of his/her prejudiced judgements over certain race. While being a tolerant racist, that person still holds the objecting prejudices in a negative perspective. Such an association of the prejudiced judgements of any person is considered fallacious in a democratic sense. So, it is evident that even though a person is tolerant, he/she can proceed on the ladder of democratization, withholding the prejudiced judgements. The possibility of a tolerant racist in the process of democratization is possible.

On one hand there is no link found between tolerance and prejudice. On the other hand, tolerance need not necessarily presume an acceptance of other's opinions and practices. Hence, one can be a tolerant and a prejudiced person simultaneously (Robinson et al 2001). The above discussed context of the transcendence provides a sequence to the limitations of the negative aspects of tolerance which are briefly discussed in the different conceptions of tolerance. The juxtaposition of tolerance with prejudice and discrimination leaves the concept complex where there may or may not be the continuation of prejudice and discrimination along with tolerance[24]. The paradox, permission conception, objection conception etc corroborate to the same complexity of the limitations of tolerance. Thus, the case of tolerance beyond

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[24]The link between prejudice is already discussed in the beginning of the point 2.

prejudice and discrimination needs a positive shift in order to observe the agency of tolerance as a felicitator of democratization.

iii.     **The Transcended Tolerance – 'Respect' establishing Democracy**.

The applied scope of Tolerance as a transformative force has been widened. It has developed its area of influence from the sphere of religious conflicts to a possible solution for other kinds of social conflicts as well. Till the recent achievements in the functionalities of the theories of social science it is categorically identified with the issues of ethnic, racist as well as sexist issues. This ever widening sphere of Tolerance is playing a significant role in enhancing the claims and arguments for justice, leading positively for a transformative way towards establishing a democratic state of affairs.

The dynamic nature of modern plural societies has led contemporary thinkers to rethink over the philosophical and practical aspects of tolerance. This gradual shift in the pattern of outlook of modern thinkers is affecting the whole contemporary epistemic scenario.

As we see, in these times, contemporary liberals are up - blending the notions of tolerance and neutrality in forming myriads of new principals of justice for hetero-cultural plural societies. Amartya Sen's (2009) 'The Idea of Justice' is a glaring example to supplement this valid judgement. Also, there are those thinkers who speak for the necessity of tolerance through state, stressing the security of the implications of individual autonomy. Comprehensively, this significant issue can be well understood in the concerns of these classes of thinkers who highlight the reformative aspects of toleration rejecting its complete denial in a rigid form. The most interesting, and here, one of the most relevant argument of this thesis is backed by the theory of SusanMendus (1985, 12) , who suggests that only the weak toleration may not be enough to guarantee the social integration and accommodation. Moreover, there should not only be not only the negative conception of the character tolerance but also it should be presented in a positive way.

## A.     Tolerance and the Liberal Context of Democratization

The argument of Tolerance as a rational and prudential force has been put by the liberals since the classic age of Politics. It is often presented as a rational response to the religious fantasies mostly in its fierce form of opposition by maintaining the necessary social difference.

The major difference between the classic liberals and the modern liberals with respect to the notion of tolerance is that the former relied on the claims of rationality and the later are keen to associate tolerance with justice, equality and respect.

This historical context of the approach of Enlightenment with respect to tolerance emphasising the rational and prudential claims have surely lead the process of a democratic churning. However, this particular perspective of arguing in favour of tolerance would be deficient in dealing with the dynamic social differences and prejudices of modern times. In this way, the modern method of treating indifferences and prejudices invoking the claims of Respect prove to be relevant as well as essential. In such context, one might see the demands of the laws of anti-discrimination as current analogue to the previous pleas for tolerance. Also, today's demands of respect by minority group citizens are considered as transcending demands for religious liberty and freedom of conscience .

In this context, Locke's views on his sceptical line of reasoning stand relevant to the issue. As, Locke considered our views to be imperfect, he argued that it is always rational to first tolerate opposing views because this might reveal the truth of the ideas. Thus, while simplifying the rational, prudential and pragmatic aspects of tolerance, Locke puts forth the idea that these aspects interest in maintaining civil peace by tolerating social difference. He believes that intolerance is the significant cause of war and dissolution and is a severe threat to civil and political progress.

Lockean weak toleration thus does not fare well on any of for an adequate response to demands for cultural recognition: it does not foster democratic inclusion of a wide range of cultural minority groups; it cannot inculcate practices of mutual respect between different cultural communities (though it does not necessarily preclude and it cannot supply arguments for the introduction of positive protections and assistance for cultural communities in democratic states. Lockean tolerance, in this sense, does not

address the concerns of the diversity of modern times. To satisfy the contemporary demands of cultural cohesion it hardly provides with the arguments for the initiation of positive safeguards and backing for cultural groups. Therefore, it is insufficient in inculcating the practices of mutual respect between the diverse varieties of cultural groups in a modern democratic society.

Positioning itself apart from the Lockean opinions, Mill's opinion about tolerance emphasises social diversity. Mill (1859) suggests utilitarian reasons for signifying the value of social diversity. This Millian point of view seperates itself from the other opinions which eschew of mere toleration and accommodation of difference. According to Mill the importance of social diversity should be celebrated for the presence of diverse opinions and beliefs is associated with the critical discovery of truth and it also adds majorly to the "development of individuality", which he relates to social and intellectual progress. Moreover, his perspective can be termed as one of the most important one in paving a decisive direction amongst most of the arguments regarding tolerance. He was the first modern thinkers to point out that tolerance is not only essential for civil order and liberty, but it is also equally essential for the development of individuality and human flourishing. Mill's opinion regarding the relativity of tolerance and diversity appeals to the holistic views of the good should be identified with social diversity. The following of this stream of argument initiated by Mill is common among contemporary liberals who consider diversity and pluralism to be important even if they are dedicated to the value of personal autonomy. The trend has been to associate individual autonomy as a significant part of social diversity.

Rawls' theory deals with the inculcation of mutual respect amongst citizens of a state, only by a virtue of them being citizens (Rawls 1993). It does not direct over the specific cultural identities or group memberships. Though, the basic respect among citizens of any state is essential, it cannot take the place of the more robust respect which is supposed to be endowed by the cultural groups by demanding their special status of group or cultural identity. Thus, the Rawlsian model of respect for citizens needs to recognize the significance of citizens' special cultural identity status in a collective membership which is an important part of human and political flourishing of democracy. In this concern, Joseph Raz (1988) makes a valid intervention by

affirming the transcendence of tolerance. According to him, tolerance moves beyond its original position to initiate a course for the attainment of co-existent harmony in a diverse society.

There are several concerns arguing the necessity of tolerance for the cohesive living conditions in multicultural and diverse societies. However, as we have seen mere tolerance in its negative form cannot meet the cultural claims of recognition, necessary for a peaceful, conducive and fraternal co-existence of diverse communities. Therefore, the need of the positive forms of tolerance to practicing recognition arises to felicitate the acquisition of a harmonious inter-cultural society. The engagement with tolerance with respect to its development towards more positive concepts like recognition and respect can posit a cogent argument against the limits of toleration.

Recognition can be a political concept and, at the same time, can be a social relation as well. A positive attitude to difference may be called a form of recognition. In fact, according to Walzer (1997, 11), it is an "enthusiastic endorsement of difference." The significance of recognition is often stressed by the minority groups living in multicultural societies, for such societies are characterized by the presence of social diversity and differences. The minority groups of these societies consider the issue of recognition serious and often struggle for it. For example,. in some political contexts, the accommodating minority groups of Muslim immigrants or previously misrecognised groups of black Americans either demand the same recognition like other groups in the society or demand the recognition of their particular difference from the other groups of the society (Laegaard 2010, 26). Thus, the demands for the positive forms of tolerance get practically transformed into the demands for recognition. In fact, the demands for recognition are presented as the demands for more than tolerance (Macedo 2000). Furthermore, such demands often lead to the demands for recognition of (positive) equal worth of different groups or the religious, ethnic or cultural differences characterizing them (Taylor et al 1994 ).

In the development of the liberal democratic tradition, the association of tolerance and recognition is presented in a theoretical as well as practical significance. Although, there are different forms or interpretations in so far the relativity of tolerance and

recognition is concerned. The association of these two concepts varies between the factors of incompatibility and compatibility. The incompatibility is already discussed, that lies in the negative and the positive nature of tolerance and recognition respectively (Jones 2006, 123). Yet the close association of tolerance and recognition can be verified. As Laegaard (2010, 17) says, "even if the noted conceptual incompatibility between toleration and recognition holds, it might be entirely possible to practice both toleration and recognition at the same time." However, Mckinnon (2007) holds recognition to be a positive aspect of tolerance itself. Perhaps, such a position is a response to Laegaard's (2010) question that poses the possibility of turning tolerance into recognition.

For the issues of multicultural and socially diverse societies, along with its positive treatment in the form of recognition, the liberal conception has the response of 'respect' as well. The formulations of respect include 'equal-respect' [25], 'self-respect'[26], 'recognition-respect'[27] etc. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the fulfillment of a democratic society demands the provision of 'qualitative equality' through the egalitarian execution of the 'respect conception'. The formulation of respect and equality therefore centers the process of democratization that is developed out of tolerance.

While heading towards the formulation of Respect Conception as a whole, it is necessary to ascertain the connecting links among the above discussed conceptions. In the series, the bond of Respect and Recognition is one of the most significant one. Respect comprises the serious connotation of amalgamation of the values of recognition of other persons by oneself with respect to the subtle relative values of human dignity and self esteem. Myriad of cultural communities of diverse identities are in a persistent endeavour to acquire not only a tolerant attitude, but also a dignified and self-esteemed treatment from the other cultural communities. The treatment of respect, in this respect provides the essential conditions to realize the conditions of the peaceful and fraternal coexistence of these diverse communities.

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[25] As put by Dworkin (1971)
[26] As put by Honneth (1995)
[27] As put by Darwall (1977)

Observing relatively, tolerance impels persons to restrain themselves from negatively hampering the freedom of other persons. Perhaps, the practice of tolerance secures the reluctant respect, but it doesn't discharges a substantive respect which demands a positive interaction among range of diverse communities or groups. Also, it may positively move towards recognising the beliefs and practices of the 'othered' cultural groups or communities. It is definitely deficient if not summed up with the practice of respect.  As we see the concerns and implications of tolerance are incomplete putting paradoxically with the same of respect, the necessity of tolerance to move beyond positively increases. The Liberal position of recognition demands the association of a respectful treatment for the 'othered' persons in order to develop a democratized socio-political environment.

## B.      Tolerance and Respect Conception

As mentioned earlier, the positive value of tolerance is held by its engagement with the Respect Conception. In fact, it is justified as a movement of tolerance towards resolving the paradoxes of toleration (Forst 2014, 68). It prevents the hierarchical relationship between the tolerant and tolerated groups by providing t a horizontal level of interaction and identifying an unequal space in which the tolerated individual or group is positioned in the inferior ranks. Hence,it involves a more equal relationship between groups (Galeotti 2002; Honneth 1995, 116).   Having the horizontal credentials of equality, this conception strives to position tolerance on a transcended location in democratization.

In the traditional reckoning of respect, it is considered as an attitude directed at person's dignity as a universal normative status shared by all persons together in the same degree (Raz et al 2001, 1). A befitting formulation of this aspect of Respect is found in Kantian construction of the concept. Kant broadly looks respect as the recognition of dignity in other persons. While assessing the value of respect asserts that it has a priceless worth. Kant (Seidler 1986, 19) emphatically simplifies the value of respect by recognising it as a duty of persons. In this regards he points out that

prohibiting oneself from behaving or acting antithetically to the self esteem of other persons should be a duty of a person. Moreover, according to him the fulfilment of the practice of respect is an obligation of oneself to acknowledge, in practical way, the dignity of humanity in every man.

Until the modern development of the scholarship on Respect, the concept has gained a much nuanced and advanced formulation. So far the connection among the concepts of this research is concerned; 'Respect' is a more complex notion than 'tolerance' or 'recognition'; In a nuanced way, it can be analysed at par with tolerance on the attitudinal basis (Laegaard 2013, 1064). Similarly, some uses of Respect and Recognition are indistinguishable and are perhaps used to refer to the same type of circumstances (Modood 2005; Laegaard 2010, 17). As Laegaard(2010, 19) explicates, "In such justificatory variants, respect may underlie either toleration or recognition, or both." The bond shared by these concepts varies according to the variations of any given socio-political circumstances. Hardly at loggerheads but mostly compatible, the relationship among these notions determines the value of equality in a society.

Tolerance is considered to be a pragmatic approach of or towards the acquisition of respect. In the states comprising of a diverse population adhering to different beliefs and cultural practices, the necessity of an easy and peaceful approach for accommodation occurs. In such situations, tolerance is often seen as a least costly approach to accommodate this diversified population without disturbing the existing social structure and civil peace (Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran 2016, 78).

There may be reasons to respect persons; however, respecting persons solely as individual and rational agents is different from respecting persons in virtue of reasons for attachments. Hence, any kind of Intolerance may stand opposite to the practice of Respect. Intolerance can be present in various actions by the tormenter that may manifest in the forms of dominance and interferences. Such acts would comprise the ambit of intolerance. Also, public denouncement by any acts of shaming or denouncement by a person against the beliefs and customs with which he/she disagrees is also counted as intolerance. These kinds of acts directly hamper the value of respect and dignity among the offending group. In such, only respect that is followed by tolerating the groups with which one disagrees is a solution for securing equality among these groups with difference.

The relationship of Respect and Tolerance carries a nuanced practical attitudinal significance. In fact, the importance of Tolerance as an agent of respect has the necessity of reasons to put it in practice even before the need of these practises is realised by the actors. Such practices always have the scope of the rational and epistemological arguments which emphasise on the prudent and rational application of tolerance before learning the truth or falsity of ideas .

One of the most credible overview for the verification of the essentiality of *Respect* for inter-group bonding and fostering a sense of congenial fraternity lies in the Compatibility and Incompatibility Thesis. On one hand according to the Compatibility Thesis, Respect and Toleration are compatible to each other for respect is grounded on certain rights and tolerating somebody's notions or practices means recognising those rights. On the other hand, according to the incompatibility thesis, respect and toleration are incompatible for respect is not possible along with the toleration in which respect is practiced and evaluated negatively at the same time (Carter 2013, 195).

The application of Compatibility thesis can be observed in the practical aspects of citizenship, where all citizens of State are treated equally in political or constitutional sense. The State may confer equal rights on its citizens without any discrimination between its tolerant and the tolerated citizens. In this case, it can be observed that the tolerated end up recognising the rights of the tolerated often bounded in statist constitutional provisions. Such recognition of rights of the tolerated by the tolerant fulfils the minimum condition of being respectful towards the rights of the tolerated. However, the recognition to the political or constitutional rights of the tolerated citizens limits the respect condition. In fact, even after being respectful by recognising the rights of the tolerated, they often criticize the tolerant of being "*judgemental* and *condescending*" (Carter 2013, 197). In such condition, the established fact of a section of a society being tolerated itself manifests' their *"inferior"* position in the society. Persons from such sections of the society, identified as 'tolerated' in the conditions of toleration, object this treatment by various means of expression. The crux of their expression lies in their often raised demand of considering themselves as 'equals' and not 'inferiors'. Thus, the members of this tolerated groups demand to be 'respected' and not tolerated. This idea of respect before toleration brings the thrust, precisely encapsulated in the Incompatibility Thesis.

Michael Sandel (1989, 537) aptly elaborates the significance of respect. In one of the explanations of simplifying the aspects of 'homosexual rights', Sandel throws light on the issue by giving an example of the legal case (Stanley vs Georgia). Through this example he suggests that in this particular legal case, the judgement merely extended tolerance to the homosexual practices by endowing "privacy", whereas it did not award respect for the minority.

*"The problem with the neutral case for toleration of its appeal; it leaves wholly unchallenged the adverse view of homosexuality itself. But unless those views can be plausibly addressed, even a Court ruling in their favour is unlikely to win for homosexuals more than a thin and fragile toleration. A fuller respect would require, if not admiration at least some appreciation of the lives homosexuals".*

Here, Sandel (1989, 537) contradicts respect viz-a-viz toleration while arguing in favour of respect. His idea of respect has the association of 'admiration' and 'appreciation', which the notion of tolerance fails to receive in such cases. He keeps forward the idea of respect for its reasons of attachment the positive values of life. Whereas, as mentioned above, the mere practice of tolerance, would be insufficient for any person (seeking justice) to accomplish these positive values of life.

On this issue, Sandel further observes that,

*"Stanley tolerates homosexuality at the price of demeaning it; it puts homosexual intimacy on par with obscenity - a base thing that should nonetheless be tolerated so long as it takes place in private."*

Thus, Sandel (1989) infers the deficiency of the practice of tolerance in dealing with the significant aspects of life. In fact, Tolerance works as a psychological lift to reach the higher level in functionality of a process to reach the culmination. This whole process of democratization is majorly dependent on the initiation of tolerance as its first step of practice. Prior to initiating the practical process of toleration, the process towards is neutral or negative. Negative here, connotes the absence of the practicality of the ways through which one aspires the state of democracy in attitudes and beliefs.

**a)** The following question regarding the nature of the working relationship between tolerance and respect enquires the location of tolerance in the discussed process. It asks, Does any of the two, or both forms of Tolerance (Strong or Weak) in its praxis help to establish a substantial respect for cultural (ethnic, religious and linguistic) minority groups? .( Deveaux 1998, 408)

The question categorically throws light upon the locative aspect of tolerance viz-a-viz its compatibility with respect. Furthermore, the flexible location of tolerance with the emphasis on making respect an achievable ideal makes it a flexible agent for a certain end. Perhaps, this temporariness and flexibility in the character of tolerance impels it as an abstract to proceed or to change its form in order to gain some other location. In such case, the closest possibility for tolerance is to reach certain location which adds a lead of the process according to this argument. Thus, the expected progress in the process in a rather changing form of tolerance brings it closer towards respect. Respect in such case can be compatible to the notion of recognition.

The relationship between Respect and Recognition is also equally determining to create a necessary framework of democratization. Recognising a person, or an idea, or act, also includes a certain quality of Respect towards that person or an idea or act. As discussed above, the minority or the excluded groups aspire for Recognition or Respect because it also influences their value by making them equal citizens of the very society they share with others. Recognition has the capacity to augment the value of Respect by treating it with added worth. In order to fulfil the basic requisites of Respect, a positive estimation of the object's moral worth can be a necessary condition. To respect a person, according to Carter (2013, 197), is "to recognise her status as a moral agent", where the moral agency implies the basic capacities on the part of the object of respect.

One of the most significant characteristics present in the relationship of Recognition and Respect can be specified in its ascendance towards the realization of 'qualitative equality'. Attitudinally, it is only with the practice of Recognition that an equality of status can be achieved through Respect. As far as the process is concerned, democratization upholds the ideal of equality. The attitudinal implication of the

relationship of Recognition and Respect is explicated in Darwall's (1977) comparative analysis – 'Two Kinds of Respect' by distinguishing 'Appraisal Respect' with 'Recognition Respect'. In this analysis, Darwall (1977) differentiates the practice of 'Recognition Respect' with 'Appraisal Respect' where the former is practiced on the virtue of being person, whereas the latter needs conditions of hierarchal degree in order to practice it. It is the same kind of Respect that is used in 'respect for persons' which invokes an idea of status rather than merit (Jones 2006, 132). Recognition Respect is not dependent on such conditions that are created due to the causes which might have aroused from any kind of inequality. Moreover, the practice of Recognition Respect serves its justification to the commitment of equality, for basic equality emerges as a result of showing persons a certain kind of respect (Carter 2013, 198 ).

The attitude of Recognition Respect is thus transformed into the practice of equality among other persons of a society. It also assumes a reciprocal requirement among these persons in the form of 'mutual respect' (Laegaard 2010, 24). Such reciprocal engagements lead to exceeding socio-political participations with other groups. The reciprocity practiced among different groups and individuals of a society carries the mutual respect that further results in loosening the barriers of inequality and subsequently, strengthening democratization.

## C.    Tolerance: Democratizing Education

Tolerance is directly proportional to Education. Similarly, education is directly proportional to the quality of Democracy. Thus, the process of democratization seems to be an intermediate variable between tolerance and education (Sullivan 1982).The impact of tolerance in the spaces of education is evident in the social interaction among the educated  persons. One of the earlier researches has observed that the attitude of tolerance is visibly located in its positive association with education (Stouffer 1955). Correspondingly, it is also found that the levels of education are considered the best markers of tolerance and the attitude of tolerance enhances with the increasing time span of education. (Duch and Gibson 1992; Doorn 2014; 906). As compared to lower educated persons, the higher educated showcase their adherence to

the attitude to tolerance and are relatively less inclined to defect on the principles of tolerance in their interaction with the disliked groups (Keuzenkamp 2010; Doorn 2014, 908).

On the basis of respect conception, the development of tolerance resulting in qualitative equality implicates the process of democratization substantially. As noted already, the space of education becomes an appropriate location to observe the impact of this process on the interactive association of persons. Along with tolerance, the inter-cultural and multicultural interaction among the different groups tend to exhibit apparent attitudinal markers of recognition, respect and equality, sufficient to find the signs of democratization in the educational spaces. Thus, the observation of tolerance in Education can locate a definite assessment of determining democratization in any State.

**Conclusion:**

Multicultural approaches that are based on the concept of tolerance or have the promotion of tolerance on their agenda run the risk of implicitly stating that their target clients, members of religious, ethnic and racial minorities, are actually not welcome. The role of the state is also rather ambiguous here. It regulates the potentially problematic behaviour of its majority citizens while, at the same time being tolerator establishes (and maintains) a power hierarchy in which the tolerated end up in a subordinate position. Accordingly, subjects of tolerance are quite critical towards the concept and its practical implications. The concept of respect, by contrast, has properties that are far more appreciated by its recipients, and it therefore is more apt to felicitate the requisite conditions to establish a functioning state of democracy. In contrast to tolerant policy, respectful policy does not simply decide paternalistically over people's heads and throw demands at them. It listens and offers space and influence. Hence, it treats people as agents for the whole process of democratization. In fact, the process of Democratization is would be incomplete without the agency of the tolerant people.

Tolerance is also an essential democratic *virtue* of people (citizens) as those who are subject to law and, above all, those who make the law—a virtue, of course, that is demanded equally of majorities and minorities. Drawing on a theory of respect conception by Forst (2014), it has been pointed out that a person, when receiving respect, is treated as an autonomous agent whose will and interests are taken seriously and who is not looked down on. This understanding of respectful behaviour makes the reciprocity possible, further giving way to democratization. Tolerance is presented in two aspects – negative and positive. Whether tolerance appears as positive or negative depends on the frame of reference. If one delimits it from intolerance in any form, tolerance appears as a big step forward towards peaceful co-existence. Sometimes, this might be the most that can be expected. Yet, as it has been suggested that *'mere'* tolerance bring justice to establish the requisite conditions of equality and fraternity for felicitating democratization, the transcendence of Tolerance to Respect is essential for Democratization.

# Chapter 3

# Religious and Ethnic Diversity in Russia

## 1.    Introduction

Russia is huge country with less people, but with a plethora of identities. Both, physically and demographically, it proves to be a versatile, diversified and heterogeneous country. Since the age of the Imperial Empire, Russia has been a country carrying numerous identities in her bosom. Imperialism, Nationalism, Capitalism, Monarchy, Renaissance, Modernity, Revolution have been the determining features of the history of Russia. All these determinants have been pivotal in shaping the ethnic and religious diversity of Russia. This historical progress not only witnessed the construction of a present day modern state, but also saw a series of deconstructive methods including ideological conflicts, executions and battles. This section of the thesis deals with adding substance to the objective of providing necessary information regarding the contemporary situation of religious and ethnic diversity in Russia.

Considering the ethnic and religious characteristics of Russia, as compared to the ethnic situation and composition of Soviet Russia, the Post-Soviet Russia has transformed effectively. Then, the number of ethnic groups and nationalities were around 130, whereas now the present Russia is comprised of around hundreds of those different groups and nationalities. Similarly, in spite of the ideological dominance of an atheistic communist ideology in Russia, there were almost 40 per cent religious people at the time of the fall of the Soviet Union. Moreover, Christianity and Orthodoxy are now experiencing an effective religious revival. Overall religious activities strikingly increased soon after the collapse of communist regime in 1991. The non-Russian populations popularly follow Islam and Buddhism too.

Religious activity increased markedly following the collapse of the communist rule in 1991, but restrictions have remained nonetheless for certain groups. A 1997 law set

requirements that religions be registered, putting unrecognized groups at a disadvantage[28]. For example, all Muslim groups falling outside the government-sanctioned Spiritual Directorate of Muslims of Russia are repressed as potential terrorist organizations.

Russia is socially and culturally heterogeneous. Amongthe 130 ethnic groups and nationalities in the Soviet Union, about 100 of them can be found in significant numbers in present-day Russia.Being sharply diverse, the demographic and political scenario of Russia makes it difficult to unify the population culturally or nationally. There is an apparent demarcation between ethnicity and nationality. For example, it has been observed that the white Slavic Russians refuse to share the 'Russian' identity with Tatars, Chechens or Afro-Russians. This question of ethnicity and nationality or 'ethnic nationalism' is one of the most complex issues of Russia. Hence, for its relevant relationship with the subject of tolerance, this section of the thesis shall comprise a decisive part involving the discussion around the same issue. In order to move towards the issue of tolerance among the intricacies of co-existence of diversified groups and communities, it is necessary to throw an objective light on diversity of Religion and Ethnicity separately. Most white Slavic Russians believe is no such thing as Tatar Russian, Chechen Russian or Afro-Russian. The definition of who is and who is not Russian is also a complex question.

## 2.      Religion in Russia

The Soviet Union administered Russia for seventy-four years under the communist ideology while propagating the beliefs of atheism. Yet, Religion continued to be one of the most influential forces in the lives of the Russian Population.

In Russia the, Russian Orthodoxy is privileged to be the official religion. The majority of the Russian population claim to follow this religion. There is a substantial amount of statically mentioned information which observes the distribution of people of faith and the active worshippers. According to this information, among the total number of 75 million Russians who belong to the faith of Orthodoxy (Christians), only fifty

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[28] Via RESPONSES TO INFORMATION REQUESTS, 2004- A copy of an official work that is published by the Government of Canada.

percent followers are active worshippers. Russia is also home to a considerable number of people who follow Islam as their religion. In fact, it is observed that Islam is the fastest growing religion in Russia. It is followed by around 20 million people, among which most number of people are the active practitioners of religion. The other religions existing in Russia are Roman Catholicism with around fifty four per cent of the total population following the other faiths including Judaism, Buddhism etc, that comprise rest of the Russian Population.(Britanica 2005).

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 facilitated the growth in the Religious activities in Russia. However, for some religious groups the restrictions remained similar to the previous communist regime. The institutional development of the religions in Russia made the existence of many religious groups difficult. In 1997, certain provisions of a religious law put all the religious groups in disadvantage which were not recognised by the state. For example, many Muslims groups which did not have the sanctions of the spiritual directorate of the state were officially considered as a security threat to the state (Elkner 2005, 2).

There are state policies in Russia which are specifically provided in order to maintain the religious order. In this respect, the constitution of Russia of 1993 guarantees freedom of religion and considers all religions equal before the law. According to Russian constitution's Article 14, ""the Russian Federation is a secular state. No religion may be established as the state religion or a compulsory religion. Religious associations are separated from the state and are equal before the law."[29] However, the close connection between the State of Russia and Russian Orthodoxy has been observed by several scholars[30]. This kind of relationship between the state and the religious institutions has affected the secular credentials of state as well as the attitudes of the population.

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[29]http://www.constitution.ru/en/10003000-02.htm
[30] State-religious relations in modern Russian society Dari Tsyrendorzhieva1 , KseniyaBagaeva1a 1 Buryat State University, 670000, Smolin str. a 24, Ulan-Ude, Russia published by EDP Sciences.

### i.     Religious Diversity

Since the period of Soviet Union, where the influence of religion on the state and population was minimal, the progress in the influence of religion can be observed through marking the changes in the religious sphere. Strikingly, the changed state of the religious buildings since the soviet period presents the state of transforming conditions of religion in Russia. The collapse was followed by the working conditions of churches, most of which among the religious buildings were abandoned or had been converted into museums. Along with the major religion of Orthodoxy, the number of people in other religions too is increasing ever since. Among these, there is variety of non-Orthodox Christian institutions as well as the institutions of Jewish people. The increase in the followers and institutions of Islam is also a marked phenomenon in Russia (The Moscow Times, 2019).

It should be marked that this process of religious revival had started much before the collapse of the Soviet Union. The policies of new openness in Russia had become the reason for the attraction of several new faiths. That period in the history of religious progression in Russia welcomed evangelists and missionaries. Moscow had started becoming the hotspot of evangelical and missionary activities.  Religious institutions like Roman Catholic missionary society, the Salvation Army, the Swiss Protestant church, German Lutherans, the Quakers etc. took interest in Russia's religious culture. Even the Hindu groups were attracted to the Russian religious sphere which was opening new spaces for its regeneration. Particularly, the Hare Krishnas took great zeal to propagate its faith in Russia.

Thus, on one hand, while the emerging dynamism in Russian religious domain created a widening sphere of growing religious groups, on the other hand, it also attracted reactions from different power bases. As a result, the growing religious dynamism that had started began to fade by 1994. The conservative political and religious groups of Russia held the other front, checking the wide spreading movement of new faiths. One of the examples of such a move was deliberated by the groups of powerful conservatives of Russian parliament. This group of the political conservatives proposed the creation of a Consultative Council of church representatives and government officials in 1992. This was the reaction against the non-Russian religious activities.

## ii.      Restrictions on Religion

There were four main religions other than Orthodox Christianity which has been existing in Russia. These religions are Islam, Orthodox Judiasm and Buddhism. For the changes in the Russian religious policies, these religions needed to get the sanction of the government. However, the policies of the Russian government restricted the activities of the minority religions like Church of Scientology and Mormonism. Similarly, the larger faiths such as Catholicism and Protestantism were also affected by these policies.

These sanctions of restrictions were executed in 1997 under the leadership of Yeltsin. In these restrictions he signed laws which resulted in restricting several non-Russian religious groups. During this period the Council limited myriads of religious activities in Russia.

Since the era of the Soviet Union, Russia has been home to several non-orthodox Christian churches. There were numerous other follower churches like Armenian Apostolic Church, Georgian Orthodox Church and Belorussian autocephalous Orthodox churches etc. These churches had its roots in the Byzantine Church. Similarly, the Orthodox Church of Russia had its root in Byzantine Church. At some point in time these churches were affected by the atheistic policies in Russia. Later, the policies made many non-orthodox churches lessen their numbers in the Post-Soviet Russia. One of the reason of this lessening was also that many of these non-orthodox churches had their bases in the autonomous republics of Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia .

After the collapse several minority religious faiths found new avenues in Russia. The number of Protestant evangelical activities increased rapidly. In fact, in seven years they grew to the number of eighthundred congregations from the number of merely fifty congregations. Groups like Roman Catholics, Baptists, Seventh-Day Adventists, Lutherans etc. had joined by bringing their missionaries to Russia.

One of such minority non-Russian, non-registered and infamous among the eyes of Russian authority was the Salvation Army (Traynor 2002, 2). It was ousted during the

regime of Lenin in 1923. Since it willed not to get the sanction of the Russian government and refused to assign itself a position of a registered religious organization, it added the word 'Army' in its nomenclature. It was a properly organized group to have uniforms for its members and have had a strict discipline. The perception of the authorities with respect to the Salvation Army remained considering it is a practical army aiming to overthrow the government. The current objective of the Salvation Army is mainly focussed on social service. Its social activities involve distributing food to the homeless in Moscow, providing aid to patients in hospitals, counselling the troubled people and so on.

### iii.    Christianity and Churches:

### A.    Uniate Church

The Uniate Church is a part of the Roman Catholic Church which preserves the Eastern Rite (Orthodox) liturgy. The terminology of Uniate is usually used for the Eastern churches which were previously called Eastern or Oriental Orthodox churches. The Uniate churches are distributed in a vast region in Russia, Middle East and Europe. In Middle East it is known as Maronites, Syrian Catholics and Chaldeans. In Euorpe it is called as Ukrainian Catholic Church and Greek Catholic Church. Although, it follows the Catholic tradition, it recognizes the papal authority. This church is also called as Eastern Rite Church.  The members of the Uniate Church recognize the authority of the Pope and follow the rites and doctrines of Latin traditions as well as Orthodox Christianity. It believes in rites such as baptism, confession and communion services which are also practiced in the Byzantine liturgy. The members, as they seem flexible in practicing the rituals, have adopted them from different traditions of Christianity. For example, the members of this church practice the cross in two ways. Some practice cross from right to left like those of Orthodox and some practice in the left to right way as similar to Catholics (Rousselet 2000).

Even though it is generally used as a common nomenclature by the Latin and Eastern Catholics, before the second Vatican Council, the term Uniate is also considered to have a demeaning connotation. Later, the official Catholic dealings avoided using this terminology considering its derogatory connotations. John Erikson (2000, 5), of Saint Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary says, "The term 'Uniate' itself, once used with pride in the Roman communion, had long since come to be considered as pejorative. 'Eastern Rite Catholic' also was no longer in vogue because it might suggest that the Catholics in question differed from the Latins only in the externals of worship. The Second Vatican Council affirmed rather that Eastern Catholics constituted churches, whose vocation was to provide a bridge to the separated churches of the East."

## B.      Catholics in Russia

Russia comprises of around one per cent of the population of Catholics. Several numbers of Catholics have come to Russia from Poland, Lithuania and Germany. Catholics have had a fluctuating relationship with the Russian authorities. Moreover, the Soviets did not consider them very cordial. One of the reasons for this is the opinion of the Soviets about Popes. It has been observed that the relations between the Soviets and the Catholics soured for its belief of Pope John Paul-II supporting the democratization of Poland and also his involvement in the dissolution of Soviet Union (Perrone 2012, 40).

The number of the population following the faith of Roman Catholicism varies according to the territories. Poland's partition in the eighteenth century was followed by a large polish population of Catholics becoming the subject of Russia. From the eighteenth century until the October revolution, a papal legate was representing them in St. Petersburg from the side of the Vatican. In fact, a full-scale academy of Roman Catholics was established and was functional in St. Petersburg. Further, post World War - II and the merging of the Baltic States brought many Catholics to Soviet Union. Yet, only some of these newly entered Catholics joined as the citizens of the Russian Federation. During this time in Russia, there were around twenty nine Roman Catholic dioceses functioning. These were centrally administered from two cities. The

European sector was under the central administration from Moscow and the Asian Sector was administered from Novosibirsk.

In the Post-Soviet Russia, more dioceses were built. In the year 2000 four Catholic dioceses were built. While the activities of the Roman Catholic dioceses were functional and had started establishing in Russia, the already established religious institutions did not accommodate their existence very openly. The most striking outcome of this phenomenon was the tension between the Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians of Russia. This tension among the two major religious institutions of Russia brought them both together to an understanding where their territories were kept reserved. In this understanding it was held that the one will not proselytize in the territory of the other. There were clashes and tension due to the lack of agreements amidst them. Moreover, the Orthodoxy seldom condemned the expansion of Roman Catholic institutions as a western intrusion.

The perception of the Russian Orthodoxy has traditionally not been very cordial with that of the Roman Catholics. In 2001, protests against the Catholics were done by Orthodox Christians. Orthodox people in huge numbers took to the streets against Catholic Expansionism. The protestors, through their symbols of protests, suggested that they condemn the Pope. Also, reclaiming the Russian territory, these protesters gave calls for the limitation of Catholicism.

The tough relations of the Orthodoxy and the Catholics in Russia made discussions between them difficult. In the conditions where the Pope was not welcomed in Russia, the Russian Orthodox Patriarch was determined about the institutions tough stand on the expanding Roman Catholicism.

## C.    Conservative Old Believers

The Old Believers are the members who are the part of Russian Orthodox Church. The members are considered to be rebellious and conservative and are also known as True Believers. The origins of this group can be traced back to a rebellion against Patriarch Nikon in 1653, particularly against the religious reforms he tried to

implement. In fact, it is observed that there was a split between to Orthodoxy and Old believers. This split was called *Raskoi*.(Pipes, 2018, 3)

Spasovtsy, Diakonovtsy, and Belokrinitsy are some of the examples of the sects of this group. Traditionally, the Old Believers resided in the remote parts of Russia, often following their beliefs in secrecy and seclusion. They are known to have stayed in Ulan Ude which is adjacent to Lake Baikal and Danube in Ukraine. Over time, the reach of this group has spread all over Russia. Moreover, being born in Russia it has spread globally too. Branches of this group are also found in Germany, Bulgaria, Argentina, United States, Australia etc (COD of World Religion[31]).

As mentioned about the secrecy and seclusion of this group, it should be noticed that they were murdered and persecuted for their beliefs. As a result of these killings they were forced to live their lives in abandonment. It has also been observed that there has been a decline in the numbers of their population in Russia and they have remained less than a million since the decrease in their population in the October Revolution which numbered them around twenty million.

## D.    Protestants in Russia

In the second half of the seventeenth century, Russia witnessed the coming of the Protestants. The first among the Protestants of Russia were West European and were called as German Mennonites. Gradually, there were different groups that emerged in the religious sphere of Russia. The estimated number of people following the Baptist faith was five million during 1980 Soviet Russia. In 20th century the Baptists were the most influential and numerous Protestant groups in Russia. This group attracted huge number of Russian youth for their faith. Despite of the communist policies of Atheism, the Baptists were quite successful in their religious objectives. Moreover, they are believed to have had a good rapport with the officials of Soviet Union. The estimated number of Baptist groups active under the authority of the Eurasian Federation of Unions of Evangelical Baptist Christians was three thousand in 1993.

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[31]"Old Believers." The Concise Oxford Dictionary of World Religions. . *Encyclopedia.com.* 13 Jul. 2017 <https://www.encyclopedia.com>.

During that time, the Unions of Evangelical Baptist Christians administered two missionaries, one publication house and one thousand communities (Wanner 2004, 734). Until 1990s the membership of the communities was decreased to mere two hundred and thirty communities.

The Council separated itself from the Union of Evangelical Baptist Christian Churches and formed an independent group in 1961. The centre of the Council is situated in the headquarters in Moscow. The Council is one of those minority religious groups in Russia which are not registered as a religious organization.

In Russia, other than the Baptists there are less numbers of functional Protestant groups. Pentecostals are among one of such groups. They also joined the Union and supported in various missions and publications. Similarly, there are other groups like Seventh-Day Adventists and the Jehovah's Witnesses that are few of those Protestant Christian groups in Russia which managed to function despite several odds.

The Seventh-Day Adventist, in spite of the opposition of the government, had formed a union in Russia. Although, the institutional structure of this group was nearly destroyed during the Soviet Regime, an All-Union league of Seventh-Day Adventists was established in the post-World-War-II period. This union, however, stopped functioning in Russia in 1960. It began its functions in 1990 with its inclusion in the International General Assembly of Adventists. In this institutional group there were around six hundred functional groups working for the institution. Also, it had the authority over a publication house, seminary, radio centre and a religious school.

The Jehovah's Witnesses became visible in Russia in the year 1939 (Ramet 1992). The institution of this religious organisation is centrally administered by its religious centre situated in St. Petersburg. It functioned in Russia with external support, which came from its international centre situated in Brooklyn, New York.

Along with these Christian groups functioning in Russia, there are several other such groups such as Lutherainans, Mormos, Methodists, Evangelical Reformed believers and Presbyterians which are propagating their faiths among the population of Russia. The growing number of population following these different faiths, particularly among the Christian ones is evident in the whole politics involving religion.

Apart from the Christian faiths, there are several other faiths of different established religions in Russia. These religions too are functioning via various institutional mechanisms propagating their respective beliefs among the population of Russia.

### iv.    Islam in Russia

Next to Russian Orthodoxy, the second largest religion of Russia is Islam. Attracting numerous people, Islam is also growing very rapidly in Russian Federation. The number of Muslims in Russia is estimated to be around twenty million. According to a census of 2002, the number of Russian Muslims is twenty three million[32].

During the tsarist regime the Muslim clergy was brought to Russia. They were also given employment in the bureaucracy. The Muslims have been meagrely influential during the period of Soviet Union. In Russian Federation, huge numbers of Muslims have migrated from the Central Asian states of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan. Among these it is estimated that around two million came from Azerbaijan, one million came from Kazakhstan along with few hundred thousand from other states totalling three to four million migrant Muslims (Hunter, Thomas and Melikishvili 2004, 20).

The Muslim population of Russia is estimated to be around nineteen percent of all the believers in the religion. Though not effective like the Russian Orthodoxy, the Muslim organizations too are administered with well functional religious institutions. In contemporary Russia, there are primarily two religious Muslim groups – the Central Spiritual Directorate of Muslim and the Council of Muftis of Russia. The Central Spiritual Directorate of Muslim, under the leadership of TalgatTadzhuiddon, a former member of Soviet bureaucracy, is based in Bashkortostan. And, the Council of Muftis claims to be the majority of the Russian Muslims.

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[32] Russian state source for statastics http://www.statbook.ru/

### v.     Judaism in Russia

Since the Soviet era, the Jews in Russia have been decreasing in number. The emigration of around one million Jews from the Soviet state to Israel has been noted. Since, this community has been in existence in Russia since the Soviet period, it has been affected by the atheistic policies. The leaders of this community have suffered and were forced to live the life of secrecy and seclusion. One of the reasons for this seclusion is also that the Soviet as well as Post-Soviet authorities have been considering Jews not only a different religious community but a distinct nationality as well (Gitelman 2001).Yet, there were instances where they were seen reclaiming their identity as well.

In contemporary Russia the population of Jews is estimated as one million. Most of the people belonging to this community are urban dwellers and most of them are considered to be the Jews who are not active worshippers of their faith. There had been a ban on the Jewish people for the affects of archaic tsarist regime which restricted them from owning lands. This is also one of the major reasons why the Jews have been staying in cities.  The Jewish population living in Moscow itself is estimated to be around two lakhs to two lakh fifty thousand. Apart from Moscow, it is observed that the majority of this community are centred in cities like Petersburg and Odessa. Out of this number, fifteen percent are considered to be the Sephardic population. Sephardic people are those who are Middle Eastern Jews or those Jews who are settled in Spain being the decedents of Jews. It is also observed that around forty percent of the students studying in Jewish school were Sephardic. Among the Jews there is also a section of people who believe in messiahnism. For example, Lubavitchers are the beliveres in the Menachem Mendel Scheerson. They believe this person is to be their messiah.

The Jewish population declined gradually for the reasons of emigration, intermarriage, by hiding identity, lower birth rate etc. Taking note from the Jewish Autonomous Oblsat, where the population happened to be considerable enough to observe the changes in population, it can be observed that the Jews have declined in numbers. The number of Jews in this region was about nine thousand. However, the

number had decreased to mere one thousand five hundred by 1995. The official native language of the Jews is Yeddish. However, Yiddish was eventually replaced by cultural assimilation. Jewish children went to Russian schools and learned Russian. Mixed marriage also became common. Jews thus began to play a significant role in the Russian cultural life. It should be marked that even after eighty three percent Jewish people claimed that Russian is their language according to the census of 1979[33].

### vi.      Buddhism in Russia

Buddhism is also an important religion in Russia. There are about one million Buddhists residing in Russia. Among Buddhists too, the majority are the people following the Buddhism of Tibetan tradition, called as Buryats and residing majorly in Kalmykia. The regions of Buryatia and Tuva also comprise the population following Tibetan tradition of Buddhism. Precisely, the majority of Russian Buddhists are the followers of the Yellow Hat sect of *Gelug*. This sect of Buddhism is followed by Kalmyks of Russia. Their population is estimated to be one lakh forty five thousand in numbers thus forming the majority of the Buddhist followers of Russia. This community first migrated from Mongolia to Russia in the seventeenth century. Dalai Lama is one of the most influential personalities of this sect and had also visited to see the Buddhists of Russia on an important occasion. He first visited Russia after he received permission from the authorities. Otherwise, for its warm relations with China, Russia had always denied permission of entry to Dalai Lama in Russia. Thus, he could visit the Khuruj Monastery of Arshan situated in the Republic of Kalmykia, located in the jurisdiction of Russia (Holland 2014, 389-402).

In early soviet era, though it was not seen as a religious threat, it did not flourish fully. Besides, the regime of Stalin[34]proved to be very harsh on the monks and laities of Buddhism. It was one of the worst hit on Buddhism when, during this time, there had been genocide of monks. The institutional spaces were under attack where fifty monasteries and two hundred fifty temples were closed down by the state. However,

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[33]www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org
[34] http://articles.latimes.com/1991-10-23/news/mn-197_1_monks

later on, the conditions of this religion started changing. After the World War II two monasteries were opened in Aginks and Ulan Ade respectively. Buddhism initiated in the public life of Russia only after the introduction of the policies of Glastnost. The institutional development of Buddhism followed the gradual opening of the religious domain in Russia.

### vii.    Folk Religion in Russia

The traditions of folk religion in Russia have been influencing the social and cultural lives of Russian population for a very long period of time. Pre-Orthodox Russia witnessed such influence of the folk religion in a much larger extent. Like most of the nature worshippers around the world, the people of this era and particularly Slavs in Russia also worshipped Sun God as their primary deity. Especially, considering the cold weather conditions, the significance of Sun worship increased manifold. The representations of Sun worship are also visible in the popular artistic expressions of old Russia. Evidently, the exhibitions of Saints in art as well as the dome in onion shapes of Russian churches ornamented with the golden sun like finish have its artistic roots in the Slavic worship of Sun God or Paganism (Rock 2007, 12).

Similarly the archaic people of Russia worshipped several other supernatural forms as part of their folk religious practices. Some of the supernatural forms which they worshipped included *domovoi, leshii* and *rusalka*(Pankhurst 2012). They considered these forms as house spirits, wood goblin and water spirit respectively. These supernatural forms of worship were regarded as having nasty and unclean powers. The worshippers of these Gods believed in the invocations by practicing certain rituals in the time of needs and consultations. Music was also a part of their religious practices.

There is another such way of worshipping in the folk religion which is in fact a Cult of the Skull. This practice is also believed to be in practice in the pre-Orthodox period in the region of Siberia in Russia. This cult is followed by the people believing in the supernatural-ness of Bear Mother. It was practiced in the form of day-to-day culture involving festivals and celebrations. The main communities who believed in this cult

were the Nivkhs of Sakhalin Island of the Far East region of Russia and some people from Central Asia who also believed in the Bear Mother cult.

It was a custom in the archaic Russian days when the Nivkh Shamans presided the festival of Bear, celebrated generally during the time of winters from January to February. This customary festival was celebrated to please the Gods through the means of Bear. This involved a ritual in which Bears were held captive for several years, raised in cages by the local women like they did rear their own children. This bear was believed to be an earthly form of Gods and the dead ancestors of the Nivkh people. The festival also had a significance of honouring the death of the fellow kinsmen. In the ritual of this festival, the reared bear is dressed in traditional ceremonial attire and offered a feast to carry it to the realm of Gods to expect benevolence upon the folks. After the feast, the bear is killed in the presence of the present clan and eaten as a sacred part of this religious ceremony. The spirit of bear is expected to return to the realm of God and shower the clans with blessings of a happy mountain and a plentiful forest. Usually, this festival was celebrated by all the clans in an inter-clan ceremony of the folk-culture where different clans fraternized their ties among each other. It should be noted that this Bear Festival was restricted during the Soviet regime. Yet, the fall of Soviet regime marked the gradual revival of this culture of folk religion (Rock  2007, 100).

## A.      Shamanism

Shamanism is one of the oldest religious cultures of the world. It has been in existence around all the parts of the human territories in different forms. Also, its presence is marked significantly in Russian religious history. In the language of Manchu-Tungus nomads of Siberia, *Shaman* literally means an "agitated or frenzied person". The Shaman people are believed to have supernatural visions and manifestations. Their religious ceremonies involve various practices, where they are believed to use the medium of their body to connect to the extra-terrestrial spirits and souls, perhaps, manipulating and controlling their magical powers. Apparently, the shamans use trance to communicate with the worldly and non-worldly creatures. As they are perceived as the bridges between the folk people and the world of Gods, in their

trance stage, they practice rituals for their worldly problems. It is believed that the communion between the spirits and the folk people via shamans would cure illness, communicate with the ancestors, predict the future and bring a good destiny. The initiation ceremony of the Shamans involves an intense ritual practicing visions, experience, death and rebirth (Znamenski 1999, 130). Most of the Shamans perform these practices in a particular traditional attire with antlers while beating a drum or shaking a tambourine in an ecstatic trance. Drum is considered to be an essential instrument in Shamanic practices. Shamanic drums are generally made of horse or reindeer skins. It is believed to be an instrument of invoking spirits from the underworld. Practically, these drums generate hypnotic beats which helps the shamans to enter the required trances.

This community has been socially and economically poor. It often happened that they were kept excluded from the society, believing their spiritual power would affect the society. The tradition of Shamanism is believed to be belonging to a particular caste, where it moves on from one generation to another in a hereditary manner. So, some of the Shamans were averse to revealing the secret of their religious practices for they were afraid to pay its cost by losing their lives.

There are several social and cultural theories attached to the religion of Shamanism. It has been related to the indigenous people who were kept excluded from the mainstream society.Interestingly, Shamanism is practised in many parts of Russia even today.  Particularly, it has more cultural and religious significance in the area surrounding Lake Baikal, situated in the Southern part of Siberia. This region has its influence in the adjacent region of Mongolia. Shamanism is also found considerably in the regions of middle Volga. It has been observed that in some remote parts of Siberia, people are supposed to leave offerings like tea, money, drinks etc. in the temples built of pine-plank temples. This is done to please the spirits and avoid any risk of offending the brunt of evil spirits of the region.

In Russia, the communities like Buryats, Mari, Udmurts and Finno-Urgic are examples of the communities who still practice Shamanism. The people of West of the Lake Balikal are also shamanists but are more Russified shamanists. And, the Buryat Shamanist people of the east Lake Baikal region have a strong Buddhist Influence in their religious practices. The Mari people having the estimate population

of seven lakhs and the Udmurts having the population of eight lacks along with the Finno-Ugric people of the region of middle Volga region are also following Shamanism (Znamenski 2013, 263).

The religion of Shamanism has survived the atheistic policies of Soviet Union. Some Shamans managed to keep the practice of Shamanism alive despite the state's attempts to imprison and even kill the shamans.


**B.      Cults and Religious Sects in Russia**

Along with the growing number of established religions, there are many minor cults and religious cults which are gaining popularity in Russia. Now-a-days one would observe the population of Russia also getting attracted towards such cults and sects. For example the cult of Herbalife has become one of the prominent cults of Russia and many people are joining this cult. Also, the cult of philosopher Gurdjieff has a huge mass following in Russia.

A doomsday cult lead by AumShinrkyo is also getting following in Russia. It had gained mentions in the national discussions when there was a report of it killing 12 people in a subway poisonous gas attack in Tokyo, Japan. Approximately, it had the following of thirty thousand people in those days. Moreover, it had gained a notorious rapport among the world media. This cult was wealthy too. It managed to pay $800,000 for broadcasting a radio program from a Russian radio station called – "Soul of Truth". Shinrkyo also broadcasted a weekly program on television on a channel of Moscow[35].

In the discussions of religious cults of Russia, one of the *Hare Krishna* group is necessary. It is also one of Russia's most popular religious groups. Once upon a time it reportedly gained numerous new converts. The followers of this group are usually visible in Moscow chanting and dancing to the tunes of tambourines and bells. The men of the group have shaved heads and wear saffron balloon pants and sandals. Women also wear the same colour attire. Hare Krishanites were considered saints during the Chechan War in 1994-96, when they served around one thousand meals per day to the war victims (Rousselet 2000).

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[35]http://factsanddetails.com/japan/cat16/sub183/item596.html

## 3.     Ethnic Diversity of Russia

There have been broadly four ethnic groups in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia. These groups can be divided into 4 categories on the regional basis, which are as follows (Cole 2011):

1.     **The Europeans** – This ethnic group comprises of the majority of Slavs with an adequate numbers of Tatar and Uralic populations. The latter groups have been considered minorities in the ethnic culture of Russia.

2.     **The Central Asians** – This ethnic group comprises of the majority of Trukic-Muslim groups including mostly Kazakhs and Uzbeks.

3.     **The Siberians** – This ethnic group is comprised of the Slavic immigrants along with a variety of indigenous groups.

4.     **The Caucasians** – This ethnic group is comprised of more than fifty ethnic groups. It is also considered as one of world's most ethnically diversified region.

As it is evidently marked in the Russian Demography, the Slav ethnicity of Russia which includes Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians forms the majority of the population of Russia. The federation majorly consists of Slav population which includes almost 85 percent of the total population. The other remaining ethnic groups consist of multitude of smaller or minority ethnic groups residing isolated in the federation. One of the main constituent among the other groups is Altaic group which has its population spread in the areas of the North Caucasus region, the middle Volga region, the southern Ural Mountains region as well as in the Arctic Circle. The major constituents among the Altaic population of Russia are Bashkirs, Balkars, Buryats, Yakuts, Dolgans, Nogay, Evenks, Kumyks, Kalmyks and Karachay.

Similarly, the Uralic group and the Caucasus group are also considered as some of the main constituents of the Russian Ethnic communities. The Uralic group resides in the far northwest, in the upper part of Volga and in the Urals. It majorly consists of the Finnic population with the considerable population of Karelians, Udmurts, Komi, Mari and Mordovian people. The Caucasus group mainly centred along the northern slopes of the Caucasus Mountain Ranges. Its population majorly comprises of the subgroups like the Chechens, Ingush, Kabardins, Cherkess, Dagestani and Adyghs (Cole 2011).

During the regime of the Soviet Union, there were thirty-one ethnic-based autonomous, administrative units in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR). At the phase of Soviet disintegration, when Russian Federation announced its sovereignty in 1991, several of these autonomous ethnic units also announced their sovereignty. Among these thirtyone units, there were sixteen autonomous republics, ten autonomous regions like Okruga, Sing, Okrugetc, and five autonomous oblasts which are also known as provinces. In this period, these autonomous units enjoyed only *de-jure* jurisdictions, having hardly any real decision making power.

The observation from 1989 census of Soviet marks the population of Russians being 81.5 percent of the total population then. This number represents the population of those who are apart of Russian Federation now. The other groups which can be marked as having the most amount of population after Russians were; Tatars comprising 3.8 percent population, Ukrainians comprising 3 percent population, Chuvash comprising 1.2 percent population, Bashkirs comprising 0.9 percent population, Belorussianscompirising 0.8 percent population and Mordovians comprising 0.7 percent population. The groups other than this population consisting around 0.5 percent population were Jews, Chechans, Armenians, Kazaks, Germans, Mari and Udmurts. As estimated in 1992, Russia hosted the population of other native former Soviet states numbered around 7.8 million people (Karabchuk et al 2007).

Although the ethnicity of 'Russians' comprise almost 80 percent of the overall population and 75 percent of its population are the believers in the religion of Orthodox Christians, Russia has been a versatile fusion of numerous ethnic cultures and groups(Britanica 2017). Moreover, it witnessed a marked increase in the differentiation after the disintegration of Soviet Russia. It is also a noted observation about the ethnic configuration of minorities of Russia, according to which several minority groups here maintain their ethnic traditions seriously. They are also very particular about the use of their own language and are demanding political and economic autonomy which is partly based on ethnic differences.

### i. Minority

In Russia there were twenty one ethnic republics with the population of about twenty four million people. All these republics were selected in the federation as minority groups. Although the population of Russians was in majority, the population of the supposed groups was larger than the population of Russians in eight republics. However, Russians consisted more than fifty percent in the other nine republics. Similarly, the autonomous regions of Khanty-Mansi of the western Serbian plain also comprised of more than two-thirds of the Russian population. In, fact the tribe on which the region is named- Khanty and Mansi formed less than two percent of the region's population.

These autonomous regions including the autonomous republics and oblasts of Russia retained the *de-facto* characterizations received in the period of 1920s and 1930s after the political transformation due to World War- II. This period witnessed a change in the territorial composition of the then Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. In fact, the government of Post-Soviet Russia changed the nomenclature of these regions from "autonomous republic" to "republic" officially. The official Soviet census of 1989 stated that there were only fifteen out of the thirty one ethnically designated republics and autonomous regions where the largest group was of 'indigenous' population. However, in 1990 the number of such autonomous republics was nine out of the total twenty existing republics in Russia. During this period, least percentage of Russian population resided in the regions of Ingushetia, Chechnya, Dagestan and North Ossetia. Later, the regions which were designated autonomy according to their respective ethnic identities became habitats for the Russian people belonging to the same group (Anderson and Silver 2000).

The territorial distribution of the tsarist and soviet Russia remained broadly similar and intact by dividing the ethnic groups in different territories. For example,.the Buryats of Siberia were divided among three regions i.e Buryat Autonomous Republic, Chita and Irkutsk oblasts respectively. These oblasts were created adjacent to the east and the west sides of the republic. This division in the territory remained in the soviet regime. However, there were exceptions too, for example,. The Ingush and

the Chechens were together as united territorial components until 1992. Also, the group of Khanty and the Mansi were clubbed together as a one unit of autonomous region.

Nonetheless, the disintegration of the Soviet Union saw the bifurcation the Chechan-Ingush Autonomous Republic. The split happened in 1992 with the creation of two independent states – Chechnya and Ingushetia. Similarly, Under the Federation Treaty of 1992, the three Soviet autonomous oblasts of Adydea, Gorno-Altay and Karachayevo-cherkessia also did get recognition as republics. This treaty especially established the centre and republic government's respective powers. Chechnya and Tatarstan were the republics which did not agree with the provisions of the treaty. Yet, the development in the bilateral relationships of the respective republics proceeded in the overtaking of the provisions of this treaty by the constitution of 1993 which mostly dealt the issues as bilateral agreements between the central government and the respective republics.

The constitution of 1993 recognised twenty one republics based on nationality which were existing in the immediate post-Soviet period in Russian Federation. These republics were: Adygea, Bashkortostan, Buryatia, Chechnya, Chuvashia, Dagestan, Gorno-Altay, Ingushetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Kalmykia, Karachayevo-Cherkessia, Karelia, Khakassia, Komi, Mari El, Mordovia, North Ossetia, Sakha (Yakutia), Tatarstan, Tyva (Tuva), and Udmurtia(Cole 2011).

The constitution also recognises other ten autonomous regions besides these republics. The status of these autonomous regions is based on the ethnic groups residing in its territory. These regions have plenty of natural resources and are mostly considered as sparsely populated. They also tend to demand independent status from the bigger units in which they belong. There are also other autonomous regions whose existence and configuration arenot determined by ethnicity, but it is rather dependent on geographical or political factors. Among these the ten regions are -  Aga Buryat, Chukchi, Evenk, Khanty-Mansi, Koryak, Nenets, Permyak, Taymyr, Ust'-OrdaBuryat, and Yamalo-Nenets.

In these regions, the composition of the determined on the basis of ethnicity shows that here too, the majority of the people in the Aga Buryat Autonomous Region having the population of 55 Buryats, the majority is of Russians. Similarly, Russians

make a majority in the Permyak Autonomous Region where the population comprise of 60 percent of the Komi-Permyak people. Russians also form a massive majority in the Autonomous Region of Evenk in Serbia of the Republic of Sakha. Evenks are nomadic and clan based peoplewhose society has been affected by the policies of collectivization. Here too, Russians outnumber the Evenks.

## ii. More Ethnic Autonomy for the Minority States

The attempts of various ethnic groups in Russia to get control over their homelands by challenging the influence of Russians have led to ethnic conflicts in Russia. In this concern President Putin had once claimed that "if we don't do anything about them, they could provide a flare-up instantaneously." (Sharpe and Agboluaje 2004, 52)

Nationalism has been at the core of Russian politically ethnic issues. It can be observed that more number of assertions for independence by the various ethnic groups, particularly after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, have led to violence, militancy and warfare in several areas. In fact, some ethnic republics have also declared themselves as sovereign republics and have started self-governing themselves. The most striking examples of these republics are Tuva and Tatarstan. The regions Caucasus, Central Asia and Moldova witnessed scenes of rebellions, riots and other such kind of violence. Chechens also had declared independence from Russia.

The case of the Ethnic Nationalists of Russia is noticeable because their understanding considers Russian federation as an alien state in which a dominant minority of the population oppresses a depressed majority of the population (Mitrofanova 2005). Interestingly, Ethnic Nationalists also refute the possibility of the construction of a civic nation based on the unity of multi-ethnic-religious population in Russia. Ethnic Nationalists usually call Russia 'Rossiianiia' or 'Erefiia' while emphasising the fact that they are not patriots. Moreover, they consider the word 'rossiianin' meaning a citizen of Russian Federation, is demeaning and insulting. The word for Russian citizens – 'tozherossiia-nin' is also derogatory for them. Instead, they prefer calling themselves 'russkii' which means an ethnic Russian.

### iii.     Historical perspective

The holistic approach of Russians while dealing with the subjects of citizenship, democracy and nationalism is very unique. The distinctiveness of Russians towards political theories dealing with these significant issues has its roots in the historical development of the "sovereign" politics of Russia-the relationship of Orthodox Church and the state. Universally, Russian politics is approached considering this factor. The historical role of the Russian people was hardly scrutinized until the commencement of the nineteenth century. In these circumstances, the ideology of Ethnic Nationalism emerges to be a very fresh and recent concern. In this context, John Anderson[36] traces the history of Russian nationalism and finds out that it were slavophiles who first initiated the emphasis on the root of religion in the *national psyche*.  According to them the ideas of people, state and religion were intertwined. They, hardly believing in the distinctiveness of these concepts, held the Orthodoxy to be the centre of the identity of Russian people and state. The concept of civic nation was alien to the old Russians. Conservatives were not ready to accept this concept for its origin in the Western ideas. However, its gradual development in Russian political thought recognises these modern ideas in its relation with the mutual relationship among the people of Russia.

A major step in the progression of the theory of ethnic nationalism is the emergence of the idea of 'Black Hundreds' in the beginning of twentieth century. The followers of this ideology were firm about their decision of backing the idea of forming a Russian State instead of the idea of expanding it imperially (Stepanov 1992). The way towards the flourishing of the strong nationalist theory was in its early conceptualizations and action. Nonetheless, the ethnic nationalists had begun to questioning the authority of the state by serving as the bridge between the people of Russia and the State. The Black Hundreds kept cordial and co-operative connections with the conservatives who believed in the authoritative centrality in the linkage of the Orthodoxy and the Russian state. Such views concerning the ideas of conservatives could not sustain for a long time. Although, the propagation of the ideas of ethnic

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[36]Anderson, J. (2012), 'Dreaming of Christian nations in the USA and Russia: the importance of history', *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 10, 3: 201–21

nationalism was difficult in the period after the 1917 revolution, it marks a substantial evidence of the emergence of Russian ethnic nationalism. It was only during the policies of *perestroika* that the propagation of ethnic nationalism became open. Initially, there were myriads of groups and individuals who worked for the common cause under the banner of 'Russian Nationalists'. However, until the beginning of 1990s, there was the emergence of organised associations like Pamiat Society and Russian National Unity.

It should be noted that, at that time almost all of the members of the nationalist movement were either members of Pamait or of Russian National Unity. Later on, organisations like the Russian national Council and National Salvation Front also emerged among ethnic nationalist organisations. Nonetheless, the linking feature among all these ethnic nationalists was their respective connections with orthodoxy. This is perhaps, the most significant feature to establish the relation between ethnicity and religion. This connection has been cemented by the bond of nationalism.

In this regards, Sergei Lebedev (2007, 453), who was a scholar as well as a participant in national patriotic movement, marks that the "defence of orthodoxy" was one of the major features which was common to all national patriots. Moreover, he confirmed the connection of the atheists with the orthodoxy. There was a conception which made the members believe that identification with the orthodoxy would help them attract more number of supporters. There was an 'obligatory' presence of the orthodoxy in the emerging ethnic nationalist's political ideas (Verkhovsky 2007, 11).

### iv. Ethnic Nationalism in Russia

Ethnic nationalists had been less in number among the numerous 'national patriots' during 1990s. According to Lebedev (2007: 453, 450) they were among the "low profile" or "a ghetto" in the national patriotic movement. Later on, the identification of the political distinction between nationalists and patriots was their connection with religion. The patriots served their traditional bent for orthodoxy, while there were different classifications among the ethnic nationalists. According to this classification

the Ethnic Nationalist can be divided into three groups: (1). Orthodox nationalists, who might be belonging to the orthodoxy or un-canonical religious institutions; (2). Contemporary Slavic Pagans, who are also called as neo-pagans; and (3). Secularists, who consider the issues of religion as insignificant and do not believe in exhibiting their connections with religious institutions. Thus, the three classifications of nationalism present a typical interplay between ethnicity and religion. It explores the scope of the religious and ethnic diversity in Russia by tracing the nuanced entanglement of religion, ethnicity and nationalism.

### 4.       Orthodox Nationalists – Religion and Nationalism.

The basic feature of Orthodox nationalism is the refutation of the political opinion of nationalism bereft of the idea of God. It rejects all those point of views which claim their atheism. Metropolitan Ioann and Konstantin Dushenov were among the first few leaders of orthodox nationalists. They believed in the mission of the preservation of the Orthodoxy by Russia and the Russian people. While they conceptualize the Russian state as a state of Russian people, according to them, the Russian people and their state are the 'katechon' (people who withhold) checking the withering of world by Antichrist forces (Kolsto and Blakkisrud 2016, 113).  The extension of their beliefs moves towards considering Russian people as the chosen people. According to Kolsto and Blakkisrud (2016, 113), "the doctrine of Russian Orthodox nationalism is an inalienable part of the religious doctrine of the Church. Every Christian is now simply obliged to be a Russian Orthodox nationalist. And the enemies of this doctrine are the enemies of the Mother Church and our Lord Jesus Christ."

Russian Orthodox nationalists have been firm believers in Monarchism. Their allegiance to the tsarist regime is widely known in Russia. Moreover, the tsar and his family are like saints for the Orthodox Church. The orthodox nationalists in the similar fashion hold their confidence in the monarchy and the tsars. They too have developed their beliefs and rituals related to them. In one of the ritual, the orthodox nationalists hold the repentance of the Russian people for the sin they had committed i.e. regicide. This ritual is done in the commemoration of the tsar. The belief in the backdrop of this ritual holds that Russia will receive a new tsar through such repentance, who will win the misdoings of the Anarchists.

### i.     Pagans

Pagans were first represented in the Russian political domain during 1990s. In this period they emerged as the independent groups of like-minded people who lacked organizational structures and media connections. The leaders of the Pagan groups included some names like – AleksandorAratov, VladimidrIstarkhov, VadimirAvdeev etc. It also included other organisations, for example,. Union of Slavic Communities of the Slavic Native faith led by VadimKazakov. In pagan nationalism too, religion plays an important role. Among the Pagans, most people prefer to call their religion a 'native' faith and themselves as 'native' believers. For becoming the native believers one has to be qualified of some requirements. A group must have minimum number of seven people and a priest. The group should also have a place for feast. Also, they need to perform the ritualistic feast for minimum four times a year (Mitrofanova 2016, 121).

While observing pagan tradition, some problems can be drawn with respect to its Russian believers, in terms of the practice of their faith. One of the mostly discussed problems for the Russian believers occurs when they cannot rely on a living pagan tradition. The leaders, however, claim that the Russian national religion is acutely affected under the influence of ages of Christianity. In such cases, most of the traditions are reconstructed in paganism. According to Dobroslav, the traditions are revealed by Mother Nature (Dobroslav 2010: 78)

However, it can be observed that pagans owe much of their influence to orthodoxy, with some changes. For example, orthodox nationalists take blessings from the bishops, while neo-pagans take blessings of Magus Ratebor of the Holy Rus. It is a theory which believes in one 'Vedic Religion[37]' for all the pagans (Istarkhov 1999: 10).

For the people who consider Christianity as the religion of the weak, contemporary paganism is attractive. This belief is influenced by the views of the pagan advocate Vladimir Istarkhov, who in his book 'The Blow of the Russian Gods' has written that

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[37]One of the ancient religions of South-Asian region which was based on the authority of the collection of scriptures called 'Vedas'.

"Russian . paganism, in contrast to Christianity, raised proud, brave, life- celebrating, strong in spirit, independent personalities, people of honour and dignity' (Istarkhov 1999: 190).

## ii.    Secularists

The entry of secularists is a recent phenomenon in Russian political diversity. The secular Russian Ethnonationalists started emerging in the last fifteen years. The features of nationalism in Russia included religiosity in the forms of either Orthodoxy or Paganism. Religion has been an important factor in the nationalism of Russia. So, with the changing times and circumstances, it has been observed that some nationalist leaders stopped giving attention to religious issues, yet there would be chances of them speaking of their religion personally. The category of Secularist, thus, does not connote to the nationalists who do not follow any religion or have stopped believing in religion. Rather, it may be given to any nationalists who do not associate it with that of the nationalist organisation of which that person is a part of. A secularist person may follow an orthodox religion or a native pagan belief but this would not be the public identity of the secularist organisation. Precisely, for the secularist nationalists, religion is not a significant issue which is worth mentioning in political and ideological documents.   Roman Perin, the leader of one of the first secular nationalist organisation, in an interview, said

*"We have an Orthodox section . . . We have a Vedic section . . . We prioritise the ethnic over the religious, the class and the political . . . Creating the community, I was convinced that if society is divided any further now, that if we contribute to this, if even the patriots themselves are going to invest their strength in division, then this will end in tragedy . . . The first year was really difficult. There were scandals, arguments, emotions. We even had to expel people from the*

*community, those who particularly distinguished themselves by scandal- mongering. But then everything calmed down[38].*

According to him this was the explanation of the very new and creative approach of the secularists.

The leadership of the National Great Power Party of Russia has adopted a similar view on religious arguments. Party co- chair AleksandrSevastianov explained his position thus: Firstly, any discussion on religious issues is categorically forbidden in the Party. And secondly, our basic thesis may be expressed like this: we protect Russians regardless of their religious affiliations and convictions. Recently I defended the convinced pagan Korchagin in court and saved him from the gallows, and I also offered my services as defence lawyer to Mikhail Nazarov, who is the most Orthodox of the Orthodox. This is my principled, firmly- held position[39].

Nationalist leaders have also recognised that excessive attention to Orthodoxy frightens away new participants rather than attracting them. Nikolai Lysenko, the creator of one of the first ethnic nationalist organisations – the National Republican Party – spoke out in support of secular nationalism back in 1992: In its traditional hypostasis Orthodoxy is unlikely to preserve its former role as a fundamental ideological foundation in the future: more than 70 years of Soviet society without religion could not pass without leaving a trace. Today Russians are a people with an almost entirely secularised, worldly mentality. (Lysenko cited in Lebedev 2007: 456) This theme has subsequently been repeated by most of the secular nationalists, even if they personally practice some religion or another.

Until recently, the secular segment of ethnic nationalism was a marginal phenomenon, but today it is the most dynamic part of the movement. It is here that new (relative to the 1990s) ideas, organisations and leaders are appearing. Secularists are internationally active on a broad scale, and master new forms of propaganda – for example, through social media (Orthodox nationalists are more likely to maintain blogs than to be active on Facebook and Vkontakte). One example of this is of the young – in terms of age (born in 1986) and length of time in the movement – political

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[38]Interview with Pal Kolsto, 4thSeptember, 2005, St. Petersburg.

[39]Interview with Pal Kolstov, 25th December, Moscow.

publicist EgorProsvirnin. When he created the site *Sputnik Pogrom* in 2012, he had already become a significant figure among Russian nationalists. Prosvirnin is just as active on social networks. The high-quality artistic work on *Sputnik Pogrom*has no equivalent among other nationalist sites or ordinary web publications in Russia.

### iii.    Ethnic Core Nationalism

The influence of religion and ethnicity in redefining nationalism has become more evident post 2000s. The role of ethnicity as a determining factor in nationalism came to be later known as Ethnonationalism. It has come to fore during Putin's second term, where it has been a marginal phenomenon. The ethnic factor in determining the nationalism of the population following the nationalist creed has become increasingly vocal. Showcasing this transformation in Russian nationalism, Alexander Verkhovsky (2010: 89) opined that "it is neither civic not imperial, today's Russian nationalism is instead almost exclusively ethnic". Perhaps, the position of Verkhovsky seems an overstatement. Yet there are some institutional actions which can verify the bent of nationalism towards ethnic determination. One of the examples to present such case is of DPNI which is a movement against illegal immigration. Though DPNI had managed to keep a multi ethnic position, it preferred the ethnic Russians (Russiiki) by claiming Russians, "the people which has created this state and which makes up the majority of the country's population" (Programme DPNI 2009).

There were also some groups called as National Democrats. Among these there were some who believed in the western theories of democracy and nationalism. To emphasis the working of specific ethnocentric nationalists, it should be mentioned that few groups maintained the dominant nationality stance. One of the leaders of such a point of view opined that, "national democracy is democracy within the framework of the nation. And I emphasize time and again that nation in this context means the ethno-nation and nothing else" (Sevastianov 2013: 203). The ethno-national notion became prominent in Russia for the majority of ethnic Russians in the Russian Federation. The majority of ethnic Russians are the outcome of the Soviet disintegration as well. Regarding the dissolution of Soviet Union, there have been

very strong opinions about its advantage for the ethnic Russians from the advocates of the Ethnonationalists. Among these, noting few of such opinions, the first would be of Sevastionav Waxes who called the dissolution and the making of Russian federation a good fortune. According to him, Russian federation is a new reality being a mononational state with almost ninety percent of the ethnic Russians staying here (Sevastianov 2010: 139).

According to Sergei Sergeev, the managing editor of the ethno-nationalist journal VoprosyNatiosionalizma, the dissolution should be regarded as a blessing in disguise (Sergeev 2010: 236). For such emergence of strong ethno-nationalism, there has been an ideological confrontation among nationalists following different ideologies. The prominent ideological difference can be observed between the ethno-nationalists and the Eurasianists.

The Ethnonationalists owe the building and development of their ideas to the core concepts based on the identity of ethnicity. 'Russkii' (-ness) is one of the fundamental concept on which most of the ethno-nationalist ideas are based. Forthem, it is often claimed that the most significant task of the Russian nationalists is to recapture the legitimacy of the concept 'Russkii', challenging the concept of 'Rossiiane' at the same time (Russkiinatsionalizm 2010: 6). There are also some deviations in the views of ethno-nationalists. There are some opinions which negotiate with the civic identity along with the preference of the ethnic Russian identity. Accordingly, Svaitenkov believes that a general Russian identity may be possible only if a condition is satisfied, i.e. recognizing Russia as the national state of (ethnic) Russians (Sviatenkov 2010: 6).

Nonetheless, most ethno-nationalists would hardly be satisfied with the transformation of Russia as a Russian nation state. They consider ethnic Russians who are settled near abroad as Russian state members. They also demand that those Russians should be given the right of referendum on the unification of their territory with Russia. Vladimir Tor gives the example of German unification of 1990 to make his point. While doing this he points out how German Lander of the former DDR was given permission to hold a referendum to join Federal Republic of Germany. Thus, the objectives of Ethnonationalism become wider to make their concept more

accessible. Contemporary ethno-nationalism of Russia also contains a feature of ethnic irredentism. The similar kind of method was carried in action by Russian Federation in the process of incorporating Crimea into its territory in March 2014.

### iv.  Ethno-nationalism and Leadership

The Ethnonationalist leaders have started claiming that there has been an increase in their impact on the public discussion in Russia and the ideology has gradually started reaching to the Kremlin offices. They are of the opinion that even though Ethnonationalism did not make an overall impact, it is becoming more recognized. In this context, Zevelev (2014, 3) has opined, in 2014, that, "even if Ethnonationalism in Russia does not make up an organised political force, it is quite clear that its intellectual influence has been growing in recent years".

However, the claims of those Ethnonationalists cannot be considered true who fully believe that Putin has been following the Ethnonationalist state ideology completely. Rather, it is a sheer exaggeration to believe in such claims. It can be noticed by the state actions that the leaders of Russian federation have been following Eurasianist, civic as well as Ethnonationalist ideologies. Moreover, Medvedev has been promoting Tishkovian concept for the functioning of state. The following of his ideology can be observed in his references of speeches and writings. He often uses terms 'rossiiskiinarod' and 'rossiiskaianatsiia', rarely uttering 'russkiinarod' (Medvedev 2008,2009). For example, in 2011, he made a statement 'it is our task to create a full-fledged rossiiskaianatsiia in which the identity of all the peoples who inhabit our country is preserved'. Though the media remembers him for his Ethnonational comments, Putin too sometimes speaks expressions such as rossiskaianatasiia. This is evident in the drafting of the 'State Strategy on Nationalities Policy for the Period through 2025'(Kolstoand Blakkisrud2016, 38). While drafting this document in the consultative Presidential Council on Inter ethnic Relations, ValeriiTishkov and Vladimir Zorin - both of whom had served as ministers for nationality questions- have claimed to have kept the ethnonational language out of the final version of the draft.

In this whole process, the inclusion of the concept of the Russian people as a 'state forming nation' had been suggested initially, but it couldn't be published. Nonetheless, the draft somehow managed to place the priority of Ethnic Russians (russkii) by referring them as 'the historically system-forming core' of the state of Russia. It further shared its thankfulness for the Russians by stating that, 'Thanks to the unifying role of the russkii people. . . a unique cultural multiformity and a spiritual community of various peoples have been created' (Kolstoand Blakkisrud2016).

The campaign activities of 2012 elections were interesting as they presented the mixed side of the Ethnonationalist policies, particularly of Putin. In due course it can be observed that there were series of publications to boost the election campaigning. In one of the articles 'On the national question'[40], Putin made an attack on Russian Ethnonationalism. He precisely rejected the ideas of russkie's right to self-determination by putting the charge asbeing false. However, he added that the russkii had exercised the right to self-determination earlier by creating a polyethnic state with a russkii cultural core. He also stated,

*"The Russian experience of state development is unique: we are a*
*multinational society but we are one people…attempts to preach the idea of a*
*Russian 'national', monoethnic state contradict our thousand-year-long*
*history. Indeed, it is the fastest path forward towards the destruction of the*
*russkii people and russkii statehood. (Putin 2012b)*

It has been observed that the language of nationalism has been kept nuanced to be left for the interpretations of the ideologues and experts. One of the leading Ethnonationalists, Oleg Nemenskii (2012 : 18) interprets Putin's statement as an indirect acceptance of some of the main Ethnonationalist ideas, instead of the criticism of it. Similarly, there are some Ethnonationalists who want the current Russian state to be considered as a symbol of 'russkii statehood' and the Russian nation to be considered as 'state-forming'. With the emergence of such new vocabulary, the Ethnonationalists maintain Putin's recognition of ethnic Russians

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[40]http://hro.rightsinrussia.info/archive/racism/sova/putin

dominant element as a major shift happening in the official discourse of Russian Federation (Nemenskii 2012: 18).

Ethnonationalists have a belief in Medvedev and Putin recognizing their ideas either by accepting or rejecting them. They are satisfied to have any connotations in the official vocabulary of state. Also, all these factors elevate Ethnonationalist to make them believe in the discursive transformation happening in the Russian state for their activism.

**v.    'Russia for Russians': Popular Russian Ethno-nationalism**

Along with the growing official discussion about Ethnonationalism, its general trend is also getting popular among the population of Russia. This trend is visible in the attitudes and opinions of the Russian masses. Recent researches seeking the centrality of ethnicity in determining nationalism also hint towards the growing trend of Ethnonationalism. For example, when asked about the strength of one's nationalism through a slogan, it has been noted that around sixty six percent people supported the slogan "*Russia for Russians* (russkii)" and on the question of their attitude about immigrants, around sixty one percent people expressed their negative attitudes towards the people of Caucasus and Central Asia (Dubin 2014: 9, 12).

Increasing ethnocentric and xenophobic attitudes have been also found in the Romir survey[41] (Kolstoand Blakkisrud2016, 40). According to this survey the slogan 'Russia for Russians (russkie)' influenced around fifty-nine percent of the Russian population. While mentioning the influence of this slogan, which points out the priority of the ethnic Russians, it should be noted that this slogan has different implications for different people. Precisely, when the people were asked about the scope of this, firstly, around twenty five percent of the people explained the meaning of russkie for them meant 'all citizens of Russian Federation'. Secondly, around thirty percent people responded and explained the meaning of russkie as 'mostly but not exclusively ethnic Russians'. And finally, majority of the people, gauging around thirty nine

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[41] Happened in 2013 by the Moscow based institute Romir.

percent people, responded and explained the meaning of russkie as 'ethnic Russians only'.

Thus, the opinions of the people of the Russian Federation have substantial implications resulting in the lead for a more ethnocentric Russia. Such trends qualify the influence of ethnicity among the lives of the Russian population. Some of the responses in the Romir survey must be considered as fully ethnocentric. For examples, while asking about the affirmation for a statement – 'Russians (ethnic) ought to be prioritized in the appointments of higher ranks of the state', around seventy four percent agreed to the statement. Also, one more query of the survey leading towards the Etnocentricism marks the accession. In this query, the respondents were asked for affirmation or negation – 'the russkii (ethnic Russian) people ought to play the leading role in the (rossiiskii) Russian state'. In this query around forty-eight per cent people responded and agreed fully whereas, around thirty five percent people agreed partially.

The record of such trends backed by empirical studies marks the surety of ethnic role played in constructing nationalism in Russian Federation. These trends in the attitudes of the people are not compatible with a civic nation-state idea which claims to have equal opportunities for all citizens irrespective of their respective ethnicity. Moreover, one of the most striking examples to gauge the ethnocentricism of the Russian people is evident in their negative attitudes toward the migrants in Russia. According to Romir survey of 2013, it was founded that around sixty percent of the respondents believed that Islam is a threat to Russian culture and its social stability. In similar trends, around fifty percent of the respondents said that Chinese, Roma and Chechens have culturally incompatible values and cannot fit into Russian culture. Also, for Central Asian communities like Kyrgyz, Tajiks and Azerbaijanis, the percentage of people who thought their unfitness for the Russian culture were around forty four percent, forty seven percent and forty four percent respectively. It must be noted that there is quite a handsome number of Central Asians in Russia. These communities are represented among the labour immigrants whose numbers are growing since 2000s. It has been found that around forty nine percent Russians believe that these migrants do not usually come for honest work but come instead to steal from Russians and to weaken them. This is a new migrantophobia developing among various groups of

Russians. It is an issue whose study leads to the reasons of the ethnification of Russian nationalism.

## 5.      Playing the Russian Card?

Nationalism is one of the most potent driving forces of Russian Federation (Kolstoand Blakkisrud2016, 210). Moreover, the influence of religion and ethnicity is one of the most influential political factors in Russia. The versatility of Russian religious and ethnic diversity makes it a unique amalgamation of the factors defining Russian socio-economic and cultural development. The peculiar blend of a Russian ethnic identity and a Russian religious identity facilitates a multifaceted approach to redefine 'Russianess'[42]. In spite of all its determining factors redefining Russianess, there is one predominant aspect that represents 'Rossiiskii' which is "Playing the Russian Card[43]" (Dunlop 1993, 36). After all, in the state of Russia, it is one's loyalty towards Russia that rules Russian political imagination.

In this particular study of socio-political and cultural attitudes of Russian population, all the above discussed problems posit an intricate fabric of its state. However, considering the loci and the scope of the study, a brief demographical, statistical as well an analytical sketch of 'Russian Youth' would present a comprehensive perspective of research.

## 6.      The Subject – Russian Youth

The study focuses on the two regions, Moscow city and North Caucasus which have differences in their respective socio-political determinants and thus also deal with different kinds of issues altogether. The Moscow city is the political capital and bears

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[42] Term used while presenting the dilemma of defining the true Russian identity. In the wake of various nationalist assertions establishing several versions to Russian(hood), the category needs special scholastic attention.

[43] A term used by Boris Yeltsin.

certain privileges while dealing with social problems like alcoholism, drug consumption, migration etc. The North Caucasus region has been caught up in various issues such as political tensions, unemployment, out-migration, youth instability etc.

Especially, the issues of youth in the region of North Caucasus[44] are critical. Here, the youth are more concerned regarding the scarcity of work opportunities, youth unemployment and lack of leisure structures. The aftermath of Chechen wars have left a mark of political instability in the region. The region is also economically backward with higher rates of out-migration. Additionally, the factors of unemployment and frustration also have tended to the rising radicalism in this particular region.

The state of socio-economic development is mostly considered as a Moscow-centred phenomenon. On the other hand, the North-Caucasus region is devoid of the pace of development like that of Moscow. The South Federal districts of Dagestan and Rostov have been affected by the disadvantages of the capital-periphery development misbalance. According to a World Bank Survey[45], these regions are among few of the top having the highest share of labour migrants in their families. However, before drawing a brief sketch of the main variable of this study, it is obligatory to begin with the basic facts about the subject – The Russian Youth.

The population of age group between 15 and 29, the targeted sample for this research, are the subjects of the research. The Federal Agency for Youth Affairs describes youth as between 15-29 years of age. According to a Youth Policy Briefing (2009), the Federal State Statistics Service *(Rosstat)* specifies the following age groups under the umbrella category of youth: 10-14; 15-19; 20-24; 25-29. According to the Russian Ministry for Statistics, there were around 35.3 million Youth in Russia in 2006 (UNESCO Russia; 2005). During this period the total population of youth comprised of about twenty-five percent of the total population of Russia.

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[44] The North Caucasus comprises of the following subjects: Stavropol Krai, Krasnodar Krai and the constituent republics, approximately from west to east: Adygea, Karachay-Cherkessia, North Ossetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Alania, Ingushetia, Chechnya and Dagestan.

[45] Human Development Report 2006/2007 for the Russian Federation, p. 52 and p. 55

There is a national Youth Policy active in the Russian Federation. It is called as the 2013 Youth Development Policy. Its aim is to contribute to the socio economic development of the Russian Youth. It also defines priorities, objectives, instruments, long-term evaluation benchmarks, parameters for youth policy investment in consideration of youth needs etc. The strategy places emphasis on patriotism, family, morality, justice, a healthy lifestyle and respect for nature. It takes a clear human capital approach, with emphasis on developing key competencies of youth including innovation, creativity, entrepreneurship, sociability, solidarity and efficiency. In line with this approach, the measures included focus on two main areas: the transition to full labour market integration and the value orientations of young people.



Figure 1: Map of Russia Locating Stavropol in North Caucasus Region (Worldatlas)

A governmental authority, in the form of the Ministry is primarily responsible for the youth in the Russia Federation. The Department of State policy in the sphere of education of children and youth within the Ministry for Education & Science supervises the work of the Federal Agency for Youth Affairs (FAYA), which is responsible for the implementation of the youth development strategy (2013). The FAYA coordinates public efforts in fostering youth opportunity and development and

takes a human capital approach. According to the FAYA, youth policy is devolved to regional "subjects", which have their own state youth authorities, and youth policy action.

The Youth of Russia have got special provisions in the allocation of budget of the Federation. According to the report, Youth of Russia 2000-2025: Development of Human Capital (2013), the budget allocation for the FAYA in 2013 was RUB 2.4 billion (USD 671.8 million). The report also notes that the total allocation for youth policy across all Federal government spending in 2013 was RUB 9.4 billion (USD 2.63 billion). This does not include the spending of regional 'subjects' and municipalities, which is substantial. According to the World Bank, Russia spent 11.94% of its government expenditure and 4.10% of its GDP on education provision in 2008.



Figure 2: Map of Russia Locating Moscow as a Capital City (123 RF) .

UNESCO has depicted Russian youth in its report on the first Post-Soviet generation as – mobile, independent, willing to invest in education and training, inclined to a proactive integration in career in international youth community and interested in career and advancement opportunities (UNESCO Russia; 2005). According to the

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report of 2013, the literacy rate of Russian youth is 99.70 percent. As it is mentioned in the reports, Russian youth tend to be more educated than their counterparts in OECD countries. The difference has been noted in the educational patterns of the youth of Russia. Geographical conditions markthis difference where students from certain regions have the more chances of getting the education. For example, while in Central and North Russia around seventy percent of the youth have completed vocational training, in the South of Russia the percentage of the youth acquiring this education goes down to sixty one percent.

## ii.      Transition and the Russian Youth

The dissolution of Soviet Union gave rise to many socio-political and economic issues in Russia. The post-soviet era has marked an evolution of a total new space which was shared by two types of people residing in the new Russian Federation. One group comprised of the people who have experienced the life of Soviet Russia and the other, was born in the new space of Russian Federation bereft of the experience of Soviet Union. Indeed, the latter group of people are the Youth of Russia.

Russian youth without the experience of Soviet Union has a very different approach to dealing with the socio-political issues of new Russia. Majority of the young population representing this group is in post-20s and all of it below 30s. Most of the youth haven't even faced the tumultuous times of the end of 20th century Russia which encountered a drastic socio-political and economic overhauling. Russia's older generation is often nostalgic about its Soviet past yet also poignant about the changes that occurred in the transition towards the new Russia. Whereas, the youth of Russia are unaffected by the past, having fresh space of opportunities and aspirations. Out of these two very diverse point-of-views of perceiving the unfolding of the current socio-political scenario of Russian state, the widening of a 'gap' between the old Russians and the young Russians is one of the significant scholastic concerns. Along with the complete transition of the state ideology, the evolution of new social codes has created a tangible difference between the old and the youth of Russia.

According to a report of Swiss Academy, forty-three percent of the Russian youth feel that their parents do not understand them properly because they cannot comprehend the lives of the youth of Russia. It has termed this issue as the 'generational gap' between the old and the youth of Russia which has been observed as one of the concerning social issues faced by the youth of Russia. The issue is also associated with the cause of marriage-issues raised during the end of Soviet Union. Then, the institution of marriage in Russia was badly affected by the socio-political conditions, having a later impact on the lives of the present youth of Russia. The rate of registered marriages fell by 16 percent every year. The decade of 1990s marked only the success of 40 percent marriages which would not culminate in a divorce. The disturbances in the institution of family lead to an acute problem of 'single parenting'[46] in the Russian Federation.  Relatively, the growing individualism, divorces, family-tensions, social-insecurity etc. are the issues putting the Russian youth in the larger interactive purview (Daflon 2009, 6).

## ii.     Russian Youth - Concerns, Issues and Challenges

In the domain of Education, Russian youth stands on substantial grounds of progress. The educational level of the youth is relatively higher than the neighbouring countries. Among the age group of 27-29 of the Russian youth, around sixty percent of these young people hold a professional diploma, degree or any of such qualification in higher education. There are only six percent among these youth who failed to get education beyond the primary education.

The state policies of Russian federation have been proved to be largely successful in delivering quality education to the Russian youths. The results of the improving rate of Russian Education has also been recognised in the updating international rankings as well. For example, The Worldwide Educating for the Future Index (WEFFI),

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[46]G.V. Osipov and V.V. Lokosov,Sotsial'naiatsenaneoliber'nogoreformirovaniia (The
Social Price of Neo-Liberal Reforms", Moscow, 2001,p. 94, Cited in Swiss Academy Report, 2009.

Russia has been ranked 26[47]th in position as compared to a lower position marked in the previous years(Frolovskiy 2019).

The current educational module of the state is adding gains to the overall improvements of the educational system in Russia. The state education strategies[48] have managed to achieve the set goals for the progress of youth.  The ranking[49] of Lomonosov Moscow State University (MSU) to the top five universities among world's emerging economies has gained attention for its achievement. This ascendency is significant considering its last position which was 199th. On the basis of its official planning, the state also managed to increase the number of foreign students in the Russian Universities. This was targeted in order to make the educational spaces more interactive and multi-cultural in order to develop inclusivity in the educational domain. This marked in around forty percent[50] surge of new foreign students in the Russian universities as compared to that of the rate of the foreign students admitted in 2013. The Russian state currently holds around 2,43,752 foreign students and aims to increase the number to triple the  current number which can be calculated around 700,000. This plan has an objective to achieve this in the specific amount of time i.e. by the end of 2025. Also, the state offers generous funding as an encouragement to foreign students for their studies in higher education in Russia. These educational opportunities and facilities are known to be at reasonable costs and also without any costs for some number of students. Thus, the educational system is designed to provide youth with better career avenues along with a healthy and interactive atmosphere of educational spaces for a wider and global pedagogical engagement. Through various policy objectives, the Russian state is attempting to generate ample opportunities for the youth in order to make them self-dependent as well.

Employment of Russian youth is also a significant matter of concern for the state authorities as well as scholars. Job security and satisfaction, market trust, living standard expectations, availability of occupational opportunities etc. are some of the

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[47]Ranked marked at - https://yidanprize.org/

[48]Presidential Decree "On the national goals and strategic objectives of the development of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2024"http://kremlin.ru/acts/news/by-date/07.05.2018

[49] Emerging Economics University Ranking 2019

[50]The numbers marked in -  http://tass.com/society/1027453

several issues which the present Russian youth is dealing with hopes as well as frustrations. While observing the economic prospects of the Russian youth, around fifty percent believe that their standard of living would definitely improve in the coming three years. Around twenty two per cent believe that it would not change in the next three years and only three percent among all think that the standard of living is going to worsen than the present conditions (Swiss Academy 2009). The Russian youth believes in their economic well-being by having its hopes in the growing economy of state. A Data collected in 2010 also reveals that Russian youth has accumulated more material wealth than any preceding generation (Diuk 2010). Their confidence in the progressing economy and its positive impact on their lives is perhaps the achievement of the state authorities with respect to the young citizens. The youth also acknowledges in the transformation which has taken place economically since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Especially, the economic rise of the country is one of the most acknowledged facts among the young Russians.

More than fifty percent of the youth of Russia recon that the standards of living of their lives is better than those of their own parents when they were of the same age. According to Danila[51] (Personal Interview 2018), a male student in the department of Politology of Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, "*the times are now better than those in the Soviet Union"*. On further investigation about the matter of the difference and the reason of his opinion he said

*"I haven't lived in the Soviet days but have heard the stories of those old days, people were not wealthy, my grand-parents told me about their difficulties in getting good clothesand food. So, I definitely would say that the present days are much better than the Soviet Days".*

Similarly, Nastya[52] (Personal Interview 2018), a female student of North Caucasus Federal University studying Masters in Linguistics told

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[51]Danila (name changed for ensuring anonymity).

[52]Nastya (name changed for ensuring anonymity),a student of North Caucasus Federal University, Stavropol.

*"I would never be happy to stay in the Soviet Union because Soviet period was not good. Now we can buy everything because we have money. Our parents and grand-parents had lived impoverished lives. I am happy to live in the Russia of President Putin".*

The above two opinions of the two different youth of Russia living in two different cities have opined almost similar kind of view. Exceedingly, these two youths represent the voice of the present youth of Russia. Most of them believe that the current political - economic regime of a new state provides them better opportunities and standard of living, whereas they consider the fall of the Soviet Union as a good thing that happened to Russia. According to (Dafflon 2009, 11), thirty six percent of the Russian youth believed that the lives of their parents have failed because they did not have requisite opportunities to establish a prosperous career due to the existence of the Soviet regime.

Russian youth have high expectations from the state regarding their standards of living. In the listing of the preferred expectations from the state, around fifty six percent youth have listed the expectation of better living condition as their first choice. The other preferred expectations of the youth which followed the first choice are expectations of anti-corruption reforms and economic reforms (Krawatzek and Sasse2018, 11). Thus, by observing the most preferred expectations of the present youth of Russia, it should be noted that their hopes and aspirations are centred on personal issues, demanding the domestic policy reforms.

It has been observed that the people having negative opinions about the merit of the Soviet Union mostly belong to the middle class. The issue involving the existence and wellbeing of the middle class has been in the sociological debates for a long time (Shleifer and Treisman 2005). There has been a rise in such opinions with the evolution of new classes in the transformative phase of new Russia. Nevertheless, it is difficult to ignore the fact that the transformation has culminated in the economic ascendency of Russian state. The economic rise of the state has effected in changing the popular perception among the population. Especially, the youth born in the post-soviet Russia have been the appreciative parties of the economic ascendency which

has provided them with decent living standards of food, clothing, shelter and travelling.

However, the other side of the economic progress of the state also brought certain challenges to the youth of Russia. While there has been a wider belief in the strengthening of economy, the issues regarding the labour market got affected by professional challenges. The youth having benefits of this also realized that overall well-being also depends on work environment and job satisfaction. It has been observed that the youth not satisfied with their respective employments and its working conditions tend to lose their personal well-being (Demidova and Signorelli 2012).

The fact that more than fifty percent youth admitting that they don't work in the same field of their education, locates the unsatisfactory nature of the youth with respect to their employments. Also more than fifty five percent of the youth admitted that they are not sufficiently rewarded for their labour. According to Irina Trotsuk[53], this unsatisfactory nature of the youth could indicate the sign of youth maximalism; whereas, such situation which left the youth with no-choice perhaps shows the lacuna of decent job opportunities for the youth. Also, according to sociologist Yelena Omelchenko (2005), "in contemporary Russia, the authorities are still considering young people as a resource, while the youth themselves are striving to be recognised as subjects."

Along with such challenges of inadequate working conditions in employment, there are also the risks of exploitation in the legal and formal labour market. In such situations of the jeopardy of security of the youth, they tend to change their jobs instead of appealing to courts or professional unions. According to the numbers provided by the Swiss Academy (2009), around forty three percent youth leave their jobs as compared to those who appeal to courts of justice which are around sixteen percent and those who approach unions which consists of around twelve percent of the youth.

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[53]Irina trotsuk, Vestnik, The Russian Public Opinion Herald, 3, (89), May-June 2007.

As one of the outcomes due to several challenges faced by the youth in the general labour market, they often find themselves frustrated and hopeless. In the wake of such discouraging working conditions, there has also been a consistent tendency of the youth to find solace in the markets and institutions of foreign countries. This becomes evident from the fact that around sixty percent of the Russian youth aspire to go to foreign countries for acquiring employment opportunities. It should also be noted that about fifty percent of the youth aspire to migrate to foreign lands for the purpose of education. Thus, such trend of seeking jobs and education abroad suggest the lack of co-ordination between the educational institutions and employment producing machinery of the state. Somewhere, it points out the lesser concern of the state to have a necessary link between these two sectors, so that proper co-ordination between the two would lead to the requisite educational system which recognises the demands of the market.

This study is dealing with a socio-political problem of Russia. Thus, while discussing the problems of Russia, one of the most striking problems which Youth in Russia are facing is that despite having higher levels of Education in Russia, the employment rates of these youth in Russia are relatively low. This condition of the youth is widespread across the whole country, yet the problem is acute in the eastern and countryside as compared to the western part of Russia and big cities there. The state of Russia has been endeavouring to reduce the rate of unemployment. It has created youth councils and associations at the local as well as national levels so that it could act as intermediaries for the youth and the entrepreneurs. From the State of Russian Federation, around twenty thousand young graduated but unemployed students are offered special educational and training programs.

Among other issues which the young Russians are facing, drug consumption is one of the major problems of Russian youth. It has been noted that since the collapse of the Soviet Union, drug consumption in Russia has ascended immensely. While alcohol consumption is higher in the countryside, the overall rate of drug consumption is higher in metropolitan and big cities as compared to small cities and the countryside. Strong consumption of hard drugs is also registered in cities of Siberia such as Omsk, which are on the drug trafficking route from Afghanistan and Central Asia to Europe. Juvenile crime, increasing rates of emigration among youth, epidemic levels

of tuberculosis and sexually transmitted diseases (including AIDS), high mortality rates associated with various risk factors among the age group 15-24 are all features that characterize contemporary Russian youth. According to Blum (2006), all these factors, together with the lack of social infrastructures for young people such as housing, education, health care as well as infrastructure necessary for modernization, lead to a mounting anxiety that Russia is on the verge of "losing an entire generation".

Considering that the problem of this research is fully focused on tolerance among the Youth of Russian Federation, a requisite attention is provided to the subject of the research - Youth. In this respect it has been observed that in a society in rising globalization and immigration, young Russians show an alarming pre-disposition to intolerance and xenophobia. Particularly, as the research is concerned with two cases – Moscow State University and North Caucasus Federal University, these dispositions of the youth therein will be probed.

There are some findings available on the overall attitudes and behavioural pattern on the sample of the youth of Russia as a whole. Among this, one of the major findings is done by the European Social Survey 2008 according to which, 21.1% of the people between the ages of 15 and 29 (read as youth) stated that immigrants of different race/ethnic groups other than the majority should not be allowed in the country (compared to the EU average of 8.7%). Around 12.2% youth stated that immigrants undermine the nation's cultural life (compared to the EU average of 2.6%) and 11.1% youth view migrants as making the country a worse place to live (the average EU percentage is 2.9%).

It there is anything that draws most of the attention of the youth, it is Media. In this case, it plays a very crucial role in the political socialization of Russian youth. Among the various forms of available media, the social media platforms are the most trusted and used in the Youth circles of Russia. They prefer this platform to keep themselves politically updated and engaged. About thirty percent of the total information by the youth is gained via Social Media. For the youth, the most favoured brand of this media is VKontakte, which is used around 19 percent in the 30 percent usage of social media. Subsequently, Facebook and Twitter is used 1.5 and 1.4 percent respectively.

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The remaining part which consists around 10 percent of the total usage of social media is distributed among other social media brands.

Along with social media, around 23 percent youth stated that they preferred Internet as their main source of information. Russian TV media is also popular among the youth as a source of political information. Around 30 percent of the youth respondents of the Krawatzek and Sasse (2018, 7) maintained that they relied on the TV channels like Russia 1 and Gazprom for their political engagements. However, Print media is scarcely used by the Russian youth as only 2 percent of the Russian youth maintained Print media as their most preferred source of political information.

### iii.                          Russian Youth and the Political Factor

The Russian understanding of Democracy has been known to be unique in its approach and content. Having differentiated itself from that of its western counterpart, the Democratic disposition of Russia has its similar effect on the youth. The 'Putin Generation'[54] possesses this peculiar blend of democratic aspirations which represents the well-established trust in the President as well as a voice of protest against the ill-practices existing in the workings of the government. Around eighty percent of the youth believe that the leaders only get elected for their own interests without caring for the interests of the electorates. There have been various protests[55], especially in this current decade that exhibit the longing of the Russian youth for a participative, accountable and transparent government. Perhaps, The Russian youth, or generational change, have also been considered the "beacon of hope" for democracy in Russia (Mcfaul 2003, 64).

Protests, as a legitimate form of political engagement have been one of the most trusted expressions of Russian youth. Around 27 percent of the Russian youth unconditionally support the use of protests as a legitimate form of political

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[54]Tom Junes used this term to address the youth living in the present Putin regime as a fashionable statement.

[55]As mentioned in the report of The Washington Post by YevgeniaAlbats.

participation or action. Around 64 percent of the Russian youth believes in the legitimacy of protests in 'some cases'. However, only 10 percent of the total youth in Russia maintained that the protests are illegitimate form of political participation[56].

The information and usage of protests as a political means by the Russian youth is widely known in the city centres like Moscow and St. Petersburg. The youth participation in protests is higher in these cities. However, the youth participation in



Figure 3:  Russian Youth in a Political Protest (Shutterstock)

the cities like Voronezh, Volgograd and Krasnoyarsk is relatively lower. Most of the protests happening in Russia have raised the issue of corruption. There is a higher percentage of the youth, which can be observed as around sixty percent, who are aware of the ongoing protests regarding any issue. However, only four to five percent youth participates in the protests.

Observing Politically, the participation of the youth of Russia is pro-Putin as well as anti-Putin. In different types of Russian, Western as well as Asian sources [57] of

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[56]Finding of ZOiS Survey 2018.

information, the projection of Russian youth has represented both of these political positions. There are many media sources including web-articles, newspaper-articles, TV-news etc. That have depicted the youth of Russia in the fore-front in the waves of protests across various regions of the Russian Federation. These groups of youth were showed as the supporters of Alexander Navalny, protesting against the corruption, apparently done by the Putin government. Several authors also claimed the presence of participative democracy on the basis of these protesting youth of Russia. Also, there is another point of view depicting the political presence of the Russian youth. According to this point of view the youth of Russia is regime-loyal and also conservative in its faithful support to President Putin.

Russian youth have marked a noticeable presence in its political domain. In fact, they have set up several official political organisations in order to mobilize public opinions. Some of the forerunners among these organisations are Nashi, RossiyaMolodaya etc.

The youth of Russia comprises of about 40 million people out of the total population of 144 million[58]. According to Krawatzek and Sasse (2018, 8) who covered the sampling of around two thousand young people in a survey of Russia from the urban regions, the youth take active interest in the political affairs of the country.

Among these Fifty-five percent of the respondents maintained that they were interested in the Political affairs of the Russian Federation. In this group of respondents, around seventy percent people maintained that they took equal interest in domestic as well as the foreign policy issues of the country. These people discuss frequently about politics among their friends and colleagues. Here, sixty percent said that such discussions happen 'often' or 'sometimes'.

The study of the nature of such political discussions is observed it to be a semi-public matter. The fact that less than 10 percent of the respondents unfriended (social media friends) their contacts after having a political debate suggests that there is less scope of political scuffles or controversies among the youth of Russia. Another peculiar

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[57] The Asian Age.
[58] World Bank Report,2016.

feature of Russian youth is its apoliticism[59]. This is particularly evident during political elections: significantly, less young voters come to the polls than older ones. According to the ESS[60] of 2008[61], during the last Russian national election, only 63.5% of people aged between 18 and 29 took part in voting (compared to 74.3% of people older than 30).

In addition, only 6.6% of the young respondents said that they were very interested in politics while 24.9% declared to be not interested at all; the percentages among those older than 30 were 8.3% and 17.1 %, respectively. With regard to their relation with conventional political institutions, young people show lower levels of both trust and distrust (even if the differences in the case of trust are very slight). Regarding the country parliament, only 10.2% of young people affirmed to not trust it at all while 13.2% were the percentage characterizing older people; at the same time, only 1.9% of those aged between 15 and 29 have absolute trust in this institution – for those over 30, the percentage was 2.9%. A very similar trend was also registered for the trust in politicians and in parties.

## 7.      Ethnographic Note:

The field work that is carried out in Russia is equally significant as the theoretical formulation of the research. The research became complete with the provision of material in the form of data collected fromthe field fieldwork. The method used for data collection of the research is a questionnaire based survey in the two universities of Moscow and Stavropol.Along with the questionnaire survey, the socio-political and cultural observation of the research area also provided several necessary insights for the study. Moreover, the observation of the youth culture of Moscow and Stavropol proved enriching for this research. The following is a brief ethnographic account of the author to the thesis recorded after the completion of the field work:

*Russia is popular for being colourful, vibrant and a youthful country. Having a huge territory it has a space for versatility as well. Having a diverse population of*

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[59] http://bd.english.fom.ru/report/cat/societas/social_group_molodezh/ed052222
[60]European Social Survey
[61]Data available at http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/

*numerous religions and ethnicities, Russia attracted me for the research. Indeed, the course of research was quite good and joyous. Especially, the Russia visit is a positively memorable experience for me. It was academically enriching as well as personally relishing.*

*I went to Moscow in the first week of September 2018 with an aim to learn as much as possible. In fact, my field work commenced as soon as I entered the Moscow flight. There I came across several Indian youth (students) travelling to Russia. I learned after the enquiry that they are pursuing Medical Education from various parts of Russia. Thus, I noted the prospective facts regarding the interaction of Russian youth in an environment of several foreign students among them.*

*I stayed in Moscow for around fifteen days and in Stavropol for around 5 days. The field study of Stavropol seemed unsure for the lack of administrative support from NCFU. Even with less number of samples, I managed to take some interviews of youth studying at NCFU.*

*My Moscow stay mostly included visits of Moscow State University Campus. Throughout the stay I managed as many interviews as possible. The teachers and students both were helpful for the survey. With the co-operation of my supervisor, who was co-incidentally present at Moscow, I completed the survey with quality interviews of the students of MSU. Exceedingly, my participation in the culture of Moscow City Birthday Celebration was memorable for its exhibition of diversity of Russia. It was special for the maximum number of youth in the celebrations.*

*My Stavropol stay was brief as compared to Moscow's. However, I tried my best to make the most out of the visit. There, I met few students outside the campus to complete my minimum number of interviews. The culture of Stavropol is not as dynamic as Moscow, yet, it is as diverse and youthful for the presence of a large youth population. The stay at Stavropol had been a warm and welcoming stay.*

**Figure 4: Celebration of Moscow's 871st Birth Anniversary**



**Figure 5: Author's Participations in Moscow's Birth Anniversary Celebration.**

**Figure 6: Researcher with a Russian Teacher and Students during the Fieldwork at Moscow State University.**

**Conclusion:**

The rich and versatile religious and ethnic diversity of Russia provide appropriate conditions for a socio-political study of tolerance. With a case of diverse population, the selected cities for the study – Moscow and Stavropol added more scope to the research. The factor of diversity plays a crucial role in associative lives of the population of a country. Thus, the cultural diversity of Russia determines the quality of interaction among its citizens.

As observed in this chapter, the diversity practiced among the youth (students) of the selected universities is the determining factor in finding tolerance among them. Moreover, it would provide grounds to locate the scope of democratization in the space of the higher educational institutions of Russia.

# Chapter 4

# Study of Religious and Ethnic Tolerance in MSU and NCFU: An Investigation

## 1.    Introduction:

The investigative study of Religious and Ethnic Tolerance in the two Russian Universities i.e. Moscow State University (MSU[62]) and North Caucasus Federal University (NCFU[63]) is presented in this chapter by scientifically analysing the data collected from these Universities. This investigation is based on the analysis of the questionnaire survey carried out at the campuses of these two Universities in Moscow and Stavropol Krai respectively. It is a very significant part of the comprehensive research that provides a theoretical, practical as well as an analytical outlook to the undertaken subject of investigation.

The basis of this analysis is the empirical study of this survey which interviewed students[64] of MSU (sample size N = 52 people) & the students of NCFU (sample size N = 10 students). This survey was carried out in the month of September at the campuses of these two case-universities in Moscow and Stavropol where the respondents were selected randomly. It includes the qualitative interviews of the youth pursuing higher education in the selected universities. Some interviews of these students are emphasised and highlighted while considering the religious and ethnic significance of certain respondents. Moreover, there are some interviews of the experts on the religious and ethnic issues of Russia which provide a deeper insight to the empirical survey.

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[62] MSU is the abbreviation of Moscow State University.
[63] NCFU is the abbreviation of North Caucasus Federal University.
[64] The names of the interviewed students are changed in order to ensure the anonymity assured to them during survey. Therefore, the names mentioned in the investigation are not the real names of the respondents.

This investigation contains a limited number of samples collected from the survey taken at Stavropol's NCFU campus. Due to certain issues related with the permission from the NCFU Administration, conducting sample survey at the University campus was not possible. Therefore, the research had to assess the available number of samples collected personally from the students via interviews and meetings. Although, the minimum number of survey samples has affected the quality of investigation of NCFU, the overall research remains independent because this study is not a comparative analysis of the two selected universities. Thus, both the universities are investigated independently without comparing the findings of their respective assessment. Furthermore, the research also attempts to infer a comprehensive situation of the higher education on the basis of the analysis of these two universities collectively.

According to the objectives of the research, the investigation aims to locate the presence of tolerance in the attitudes and behaviour of the individuals and groups in the higher-educational institutes of Russia. Hence, this investigation is executed in order to find tolerance in the interactions of the youth of Russia particularly studying in the two selected universities.

As maintained in the theoretical framework of the study, the analysis comprises of the investigation of the questions answered by the students of MSU and NFCU. The questions are classified into two approaches – Negative and Positive. Thus, the scrutiny of the responses of these questions is also primarily classified in negative as well as positive approaches. The analysis accounts the study of Religious and Ethnic Tolerance, so the investigation classifies it into total four parts where – Religious Tolerance is studied in two classifications and Ethnic Tolerance is also studied in a similar fashion.

The framework of the research presents the current analysis as the investigative probe of the process of democratization. The process attempts to locate tolerance as a practical attitude that plays a crucial role in the development of social interaction among various individuals and groups of a society. While locating tolerance, the mentioned process also attempts to trace the transcendence of tolerance by

overcoming prejudice[65]. It attempts to scrutinise the development of tolerance by two contradictory approaches - negatively as well as positively. Furthermore, both of these approaches locate the significance of "*Respect-Conception*" in the positive reckoning of the process while situating the consequence of '*Qualitative Equality*' in democratization (Forst 2014, 69).

As discussed earlier in the Second Chapter, the process is put in three points which are :-

1)      *'Mere'* **Tolerance - An Initial Virtue.**
2)      **The transcending Tolerance – Beyond Prejudice and Discrimination.**
3)      **The transcended Tolerance – 'Respect' establishing Democracy.**

Tolerance is one of the most necessary norms of the society aiming to mitigate civil tensions and facilitate cordial social interaction among fellow people. It is also a major means of securing peace and co-existence among the fellow social beings. In the previous chapters, tolerance has also been presented as a necessary virtue in the process of Democratization. As discussed while framing the groundwork of the *process* in the second chapter of the thesis, Tolerance as a virtue plays a crucial role in the commencement of the process of democratization. Throughout the process, tolerance remains a governing normas well as a reassuring force. Madison (1977), Etzioni (1992), Sen (2009) vividly uphold the political significance of tolerance in making a practical possibility of Democracy.

The need of the virtue of tolerance proliferates with the difference of the nature of societies and forms of government. Thus, in the plural and multicultural societies it signifies to be a necessary foundation of a State. In this regard, Wendy Brown (2006), Rainer Forst (2004), Michael Walzer (1997) and SlavojŽižek (2008) categorically maintain tolerance to be the cardinal virtue of such a democratic system. Establishing

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[65]Explicated by Nelson (2016)

tolerance as a Political, Intellectual as well as a Moral virtue, the perspectives of Licht (2001), Bowlin (2016), Rawls (1993), Laegaard (2010), Jones (2006) and Horton (1996), the process prescribes its vital role in securing the rights and interests of the minorities democratically.

However, being recognised as an "Elusive Virtue[66]" and an "Impossible Virtue[67]", tolerance has certain limitations and paradoxes as well. These are the problems of tolerance that need scholastic attention along with a pragmatic approach in order to address them. This is how the 'transcendence of tolerance'[68] becomes a significant dialectic step in addressing the problems of tolerance.

Having been seen mostly in a negative connotation of non-interference, the attitude and the practice of tolerance has a strong tendency of excluding the tolerated set of people as devalued beings. It is also attached to the rigidity of beliefs where the hierarchy among humans leads to the exclusion and patronisation of the tolerated by the tolerant. Likewise, there are various arguments negating the justification of having tolerance as the virtue fulfilling the basic requisites of egalitarian state, especially the necessary conditions for a pluralistic and democratic society.

However, the social interaction among a population can lead towards a more democratic establishment despite having the ills of exclusion and hierarchy. Though there can be an undemocratic situation due to several hegemonic factors in a tolerant society in a certain stage of development. The presence of tolerance as an initial virtue ensures the positive development of a society towards a democratic establishment. In such a situation, the process of democratization as the process to achieve the state of democracy is the product of the tolerance in its positive value.

The transcendence of tolerance involves the process of positive ascendency of tolerance from 'mere' tolerance towards the achievement of the positive value of 'respect'. Although the negative approach of tolerance is discussed in the research, the

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[66]Title of David Heyd's (1996) critical book on tolerance.

[67]Title of Bernard William's (1996) article on tolerance.

[68]As argued in the process mentioned in Chapter 2.

positive approach in its ascendency is emphasised in order to investigate the presence of positive attitudes in the interaction of the students of the two selected universities. The Deliberative theory (Bohman 2003) defines the positive transcendence of tolerance which is identified by the characterisation of Negative and Positive Tolerance. On the basis of this as well as other mentioned theories and models the survey is strategized in order to locate tolerance positively and to track the process in development. As Mendus (1989,19) suggests that it should thought good to tolerant in the strong tolerance, in this research it is observed to be in the process of transcendence. In the classification of 'weak' and 'strong' tolerance, the investigation focuses on the 'strong' aspect while dealing with positive as well as negative approaches. In fact, the survey investigation has been carried out by assessing 'strong' tolerance in the binary of negative and positive aspects. The marker of tolerance can also be identified through the shift that involves the as ecendency of tolerance towards the positive aspect of 'respect'. In other words, tolerance moves beyond just being an 'initial virtue' and takes a positive acceleration in order to establish itself as a virtue of 'recognition', 'participation', 'reciprocity', 'equality' and 'respect'.

## 2.      The Dialectics of Tolerance

The survey investigation is classified into two segments of a positive and a negative probe of the attitudes of the objects of research (Warnock 1987; Mendus 1989; Pasamonik 2004). The positive probe aims to scrutinise the mutual interaction of the students, signifying the formulation of a strong tolerance. Correspondingly, the negative probe of the investigation aims to analyse the attitudes of the students negating the positive interaction within the ambit of strong tolerance.

The classification of the investigation into two sections of positive and negative probes depicts the binary of positive and negative tolerance respectively. This binary of positive and negative tolerance firstly, depicts the majority-minority distinction within a State. Secondly, it can be seen as an efficient approach to study the existing conflicts between the majority and the minority class of citizens. Similarly, it sets to

verify the harmonious interaction between the two above mentioned sections of population.

The close association of positive and negative tolerance with positive and negative aspects of Rights is also considered as a significant aspect in the theories of tolerance. Majority population of a State conventionally seem to obtain their legitimacy and capability of citizenship from Positive Rights. The ambit of these positive rights is also marked by the availability of the interests of the majority in a plural society. However, the minority population of a state is associated with negative rights.

The analysis would maintain the binary as a medium to investigate the ethnic and religious tolerance. As it has been observed previously that the weak and strong binary (Negative and Positive also) make a scientific context of analysis particularly in the pluralist countries, the state of Russia with such evident plurality becomes an ideal model of study in such a case. This survey investigation also obligates an insight to the research conjecture put by Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran (2016) by demonstrating the dynamic interplay of majority-minority interactive tolerance in Russian context.

The study of the dialectic of the 'tolerant-tolerated', 'majority-minority', 'tormentor-tormented', 'them-us' etc. forms the foundation of investigating the attitudes of the population involved in the process of democratization. Throughout the research, including the frame-work of theory, field probe, analysis and inference, the above mentioned dialectic has played a very significant role. Therefore, while putting the analysis and inference here, this centrality of the dialectic would prove to be a necessary tool of investigation.

On the basis of Ananina and Danilov's (2015, 487) research, two types of models – the Social Interaction model and the Social Process model are used to measure tolerance in the survey investigation. The study of the interaction among the youth of the Universities has been scientifically carried out in order to locate the Religious and Ethnic Tolerance in their beliefs and attitudes. One of the foundational reckonings which this investigation has maintained defines tolerance as "a means of social interaction between the subject and the object characterized by a certain distance in

their relationship." (Ananina and Korableva 2014). Such an interaction is a complex phenomenon in the population that is hierarchal and plural in nature. In the case of a diverse and pluralistic population, the need for tolerance as an easy and peaceful way for the accommodation of population arises. As an initial virtue tolerance facilitates the basic ease for a less disturbed accommodation of population in society. Yet, considering the ill-effects and threats for such conditions arising from the unequal recognition[69] of the multiple identities residing in a society, the necessity of the respect conception [70] is realised, for the observation demands "the respect understanding of toleration involves a more equal relationship between groups" (Galeotti 2002; Honneth 1995). The equal recognition and participatory interactions become the basic requisites of society to carry forward the transcended form of tolerance.

In this study, the emphasis is to investigate the interaction[71] among the subjects and the objects of tolerance i.e. the students of the two sample universities. It shall study tolerance as a socio-political phenomenon, comprising the scrutiny of individual-group prejudice, social-political-cultural participation and recognition of identities. It maintains "Tolerance as a process, related to the state of endurance in interpersonal and intergroup relations."[72]

Based on the *social process model[73]*, the study focuses on the development of the process of democratization in stages where tolerance is considered an initial, socio-political and moral virtue. Indeed, the study holds tolerance as the key factor in investigating the negative and positive attitudes among the interaction of the students of the universities. The interaction is deciphered by measuring the levels of

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[69]Honneth and Fraser (2003)

[70] Rainer Forst (2014)

[71]Interaction stems from people overcoming the contradiction between the norms which they have already internalized and the variety of other people's behavioral patterns as deviant ones in order to establish bilateral co-operation. (Ananina and Danilov 2015).

[72](Ananina and Danilov 2015).

[73](Ananina and Danilov 2015).

'negativity'[74] and 'positivity'[75] in their attitudes towards the 'other' fellow students. The measures are also checked by the Religious and Ethnocentrism scale[76] which is a determining factor to find the accurate results. Religious and Ethno-nihilism[77], egoism[78], isolationism[79], fanaticism[80] are also some of the attitudes, perhaps prevalent among the students, which are the determining factors to find out the status of Religious and Ethnic tolerance among the sample. These attitudes are categorised within the practice of negative prejudicial attitudes.

Tolerance is also an essential democratic *virtue* of people (citizens) as those who are subject to the majorities and minorities equally. Although the weak tolerance posits limitations to the virtue of tolerance, drawing on a theory of respect conception by Forst (2014, 69), the research points out that a person, when receiving respect, is treated as an autonomous agent whose will and interests are taken seriously and who is not looked down on. The concept of respect has properties that are far more appreciated by its recipients, and it therefore is more apt to felicitate the requisite conditions to establish a functioning state of democracy (Ferretti and Laegaard

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[74]Threshold of emotional response to an other religious or ethnic group or individual and also the expressions of prejudiced, discriminatory, hostile or aggressive conceptions towards other group or individual.

[75]Threshold of emotional response to an other religious or ethnic group or individual and also the expressions of equal, participatory, re-cognitive and respectful attitudes towards other group or individual.

[76] Starts form the denial of identity when negativity and intolerance towards anybody's group is observed - (Soldatova&Ryizhova 2007)

[77]An attitude persons follow when a religious or ethnic identity is not important for them and they "tend to distance themselves from their own ethnic group by constructing more beneficial interaction strategies and achieving desired results." (Ananina and Danilov 2015).

[78] It is expressed through via judging a person with other religious or ethnic identity through the opposition of 'our people' - 'not our people' and thus, also claiming that 'our people' must have more rights and privileges than others.

[79] It is the belief in the superiority of only one Religious or Ethnic group. Such attitude manifests via one's claim to 'purify' the national culture, negative attitude towards inter- religious – ethnic marriages and xenophobia.

[80] It is manifested in the readiness for any sort of actions in order to protect the interest of any specific or their own religious or ethnic group.

2013).This respect conception makes the necessary reciprocity (read also participation) possible, further giving way to democratization.

In the investigation, Tolerance is presented in two aspects of strong tolerance – negative and positive. If one delimits it from intolerance in any form, tolerance appears as a significant step forward towards peaceful co-existence. Thus, as *'mere'* tolerance in the process of democratization bring justice to establish the requisite conditions of qualitative equality for felicitating democracy, the transcendence of Tolerance to Respect is essential for Democratization.

## 3.      Attitudinal Assessment of MSU and NCFU

Based on tolerance's dialectic of the positive – negative distinction, the analysis of the study is classified into four major sections.

  I The Positive Religious
  II The Negative Religious
 III The Positive Ethnic
 IV The Negative Ethnic

These sections are divided in order to simplify the classification of the process of tolerance. Each section is represented by a bar-chart along with the complimenting pie-charts while exhibiting the statistics of the survey conducted in the two universities. A necessary analysis is followed with the bar-charts discussing the responses of the interviewed students.

The investigation deals with the study of both the universities separately. Hence, the survey analysis of both the universities demands a separate attention. In order to mark the distinction between the studies of the two universities, the discussion maintains an order of placement which is divided in two parts. Each part represents the analysis of both universities respectively. According to this order, the survey analysis of Moscow State University is put before the survey analysis of North Caucasus Federal

University. The foundational information about the interviewed students of both the universities including the gender, religion and ethnicity is depicted in the form of a graphic model of pie-charts is placed in the commencement of each part.

i.      **Study of Religious and Ethnic Tolerance in Moscow State University**
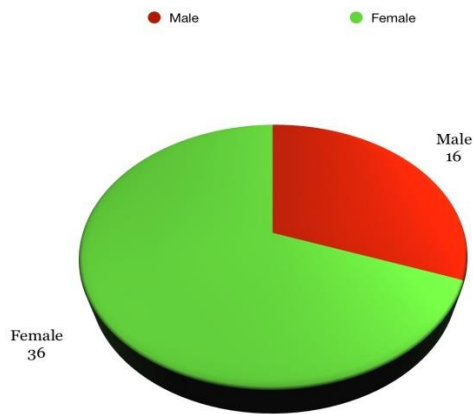


**Figure 7: Gender Representation of MSU Student Respondents (Numbers).**
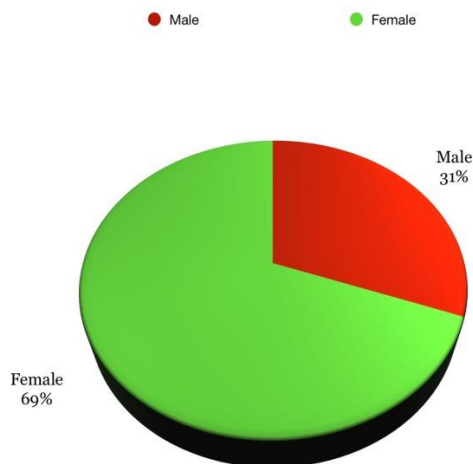


**Figure 8: Gender Representation of MSU Student Respondents (Percentage)**

Figure 7 and 8 depict the gender distribution of the interviewd students in MSU. Accordingly, thirty six (36) female and sixteen (16) male students participated in the survey. The first figure depicts the total numbers of male and female student respondents and the second figure depicts their proportional representation in percentage.
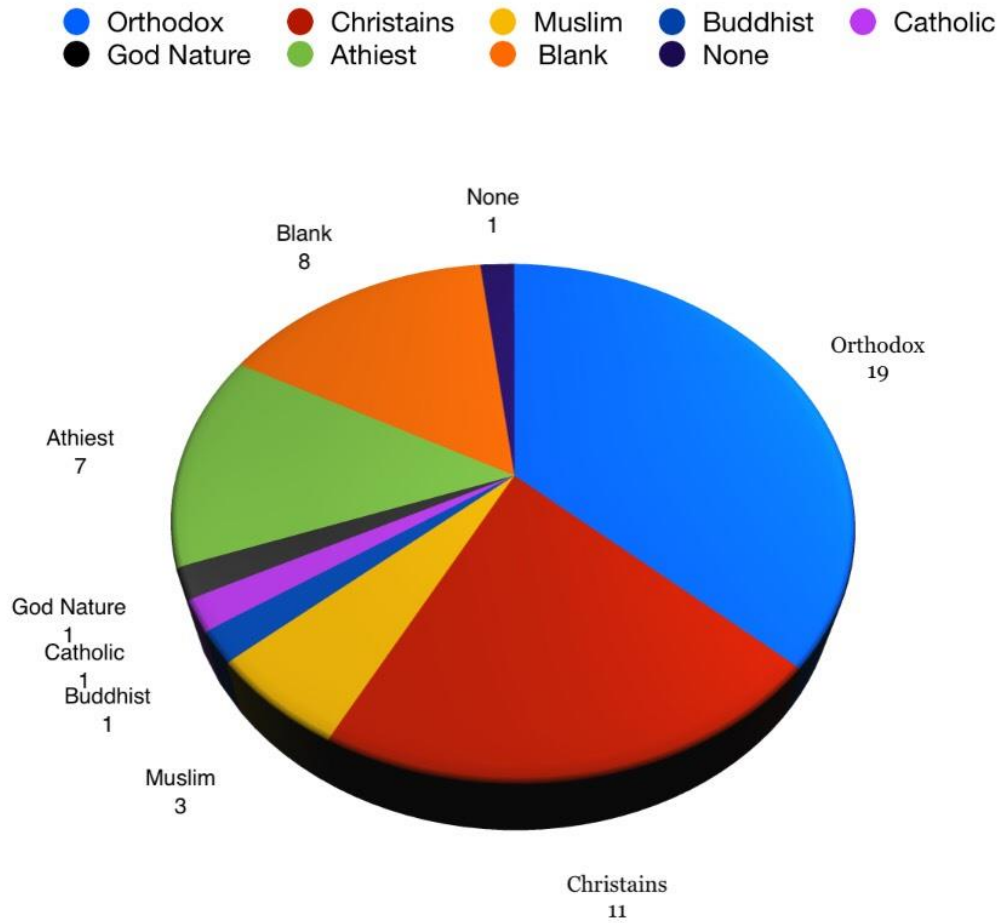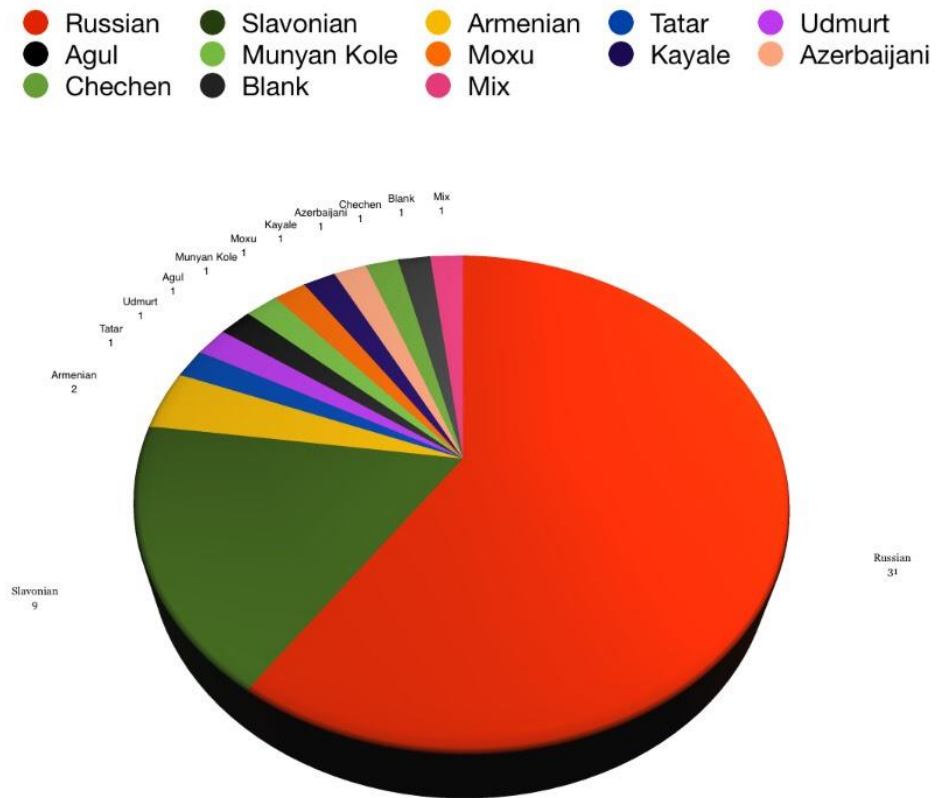
**Figure 9: Religious Diversity of the Student Respondents at MSU (Numbers)**

The above figure is a graphical representation of the information collected during the survey at MSU campus. It displays the numeric distribution of the total respondents with respect to their Religious affiliation. Accordingly, among the total interviewd students there are nineteen (19) Orthodox, eleven (11) Christians, three (3) Muslims, one (1) Buddhist, one (1) Catholic, one (1) God Nature worshipper, and seven (7) athiests. Among the total respondents eight (8) students left the response space empty without mentioning their respective religion. One respondent maintained "none" as her response.
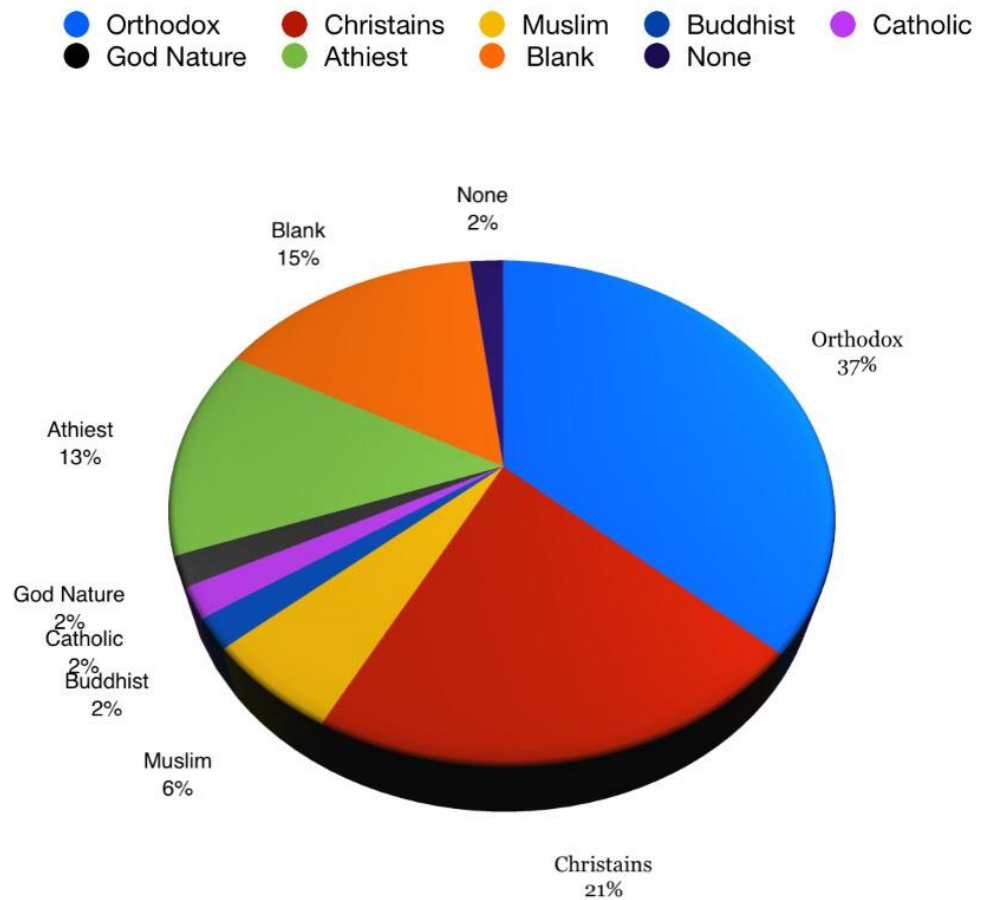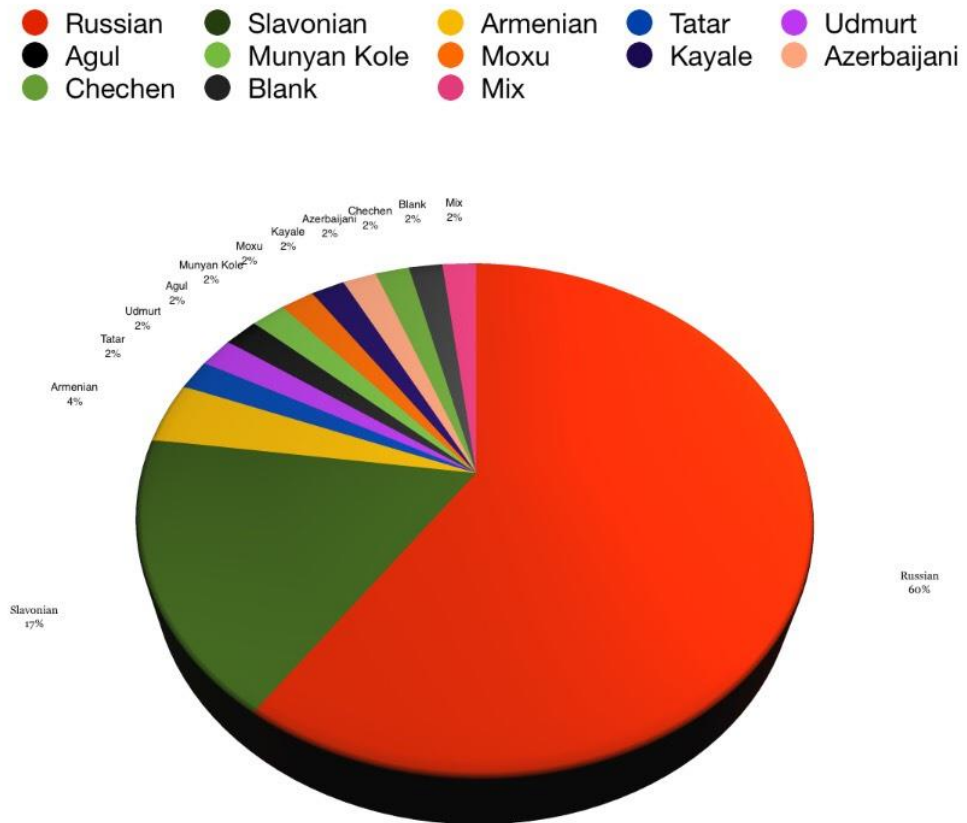
**Figure 10: Religious Diversity of the Student Respondents at MSU (Percentage)**

The above figure is a graphical representation of the information collected during the survey at MSU campus. It displays the proportional distribution of the total respondents with respect to their Religious affiliation in perentage. Accordingly, among the total interviewd students there are thirty seven (37%) per cent are Orthodox, twenty one (21%) per cent are Christian, six (6%) per cent are Muslim, two (2%) per cent are Buddhist, two (2%) per cent are Catholic, two (2%) per cent are God Nature worshipper, and thirteen (13%) per cent are athiests. Among the total respondents fifteen (15%) students left the response space empty without mentioning their respective religion. Two (2%) per cent respondent maintained "none" as their response.

**Figure 11: Ethnic Diversity of the Student Respondents at MSU (Numbers)**

The above figure is a graphical representation of the information collected during the survey at MSU campus. It displays the numeric distribution of the total respondents with respect to their Ethnic affiliation. Accordingly, among the total interviewd students there are thirty one (31) Russians, nine (9) Slavonians, two (2) Armenians, one (1) tatar, one (1) Udmurt, one (1) Agul, one (1) Munyan Kol, one (1) Moxu, one (1) Kayale, one (1) Azerbaijani and one (1) Chechen. Among the total respondents one (1) student left the response space empty without mentioning their respective ethnicity. One respondent maintained "mix" as her response.

**Figure 12: Ethnic Diversity of the Student Respondents at MSU (Percentage)**

The above figure is a graphical representation of the information collected during the survey at MSU campus. It displays the proportional distribution of the total respondents with respect to their Ethnic affiliation in perentage. Accordingly, among the total interviewd students there are sixty (60%) per cent Russians, seventeen (17%) per cent Slavonians, four (4%) per cent Armenians, two (2%) per cent Tatars, two (2%) per cent Udmurt, two (2%) per cent Agul, two (2%) per cent Munyan Kol, two (2%) per cent Moxu, two (2%) per cent Kayale, two (2%) per cent Azerbaijanis and two (2%) per cent Chechen. Among the total respondents two (2%) per cent students left the response space empty without mentioning their respective ethnicity. Two (2%) per cent respondents maintained "mix" as their response.

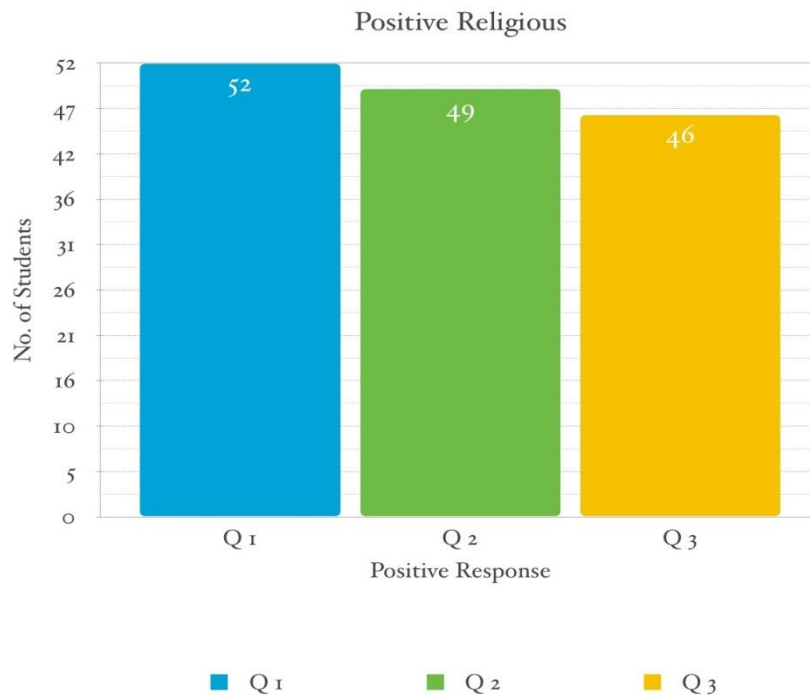## C.    Positive Religious (Moscow State University)



Figure 13: Positive Religious (MSU)

The first Section – Positive Religious - attempts to investigate the positive attitudes of recognition, participation and respect among the interaction of the students of MSU. This section comprises of the first three quesions asked to the students of Moscow State University. These questions aim to trace the Religious Tolerance among the attitudes of the students via finding the markers of positive behaviour (if there is any). Furthermore, this section as a whole attempts to trace the transcendence of tolerance by locating the praxis  of recognition and participation in the interaction of students.

Among the 52 students, all of them responded positively when asked about their likeabelity of the fact that Russia has several number of religions in the first question. This question asks - Do you like the fact that Russia has several **Religions**? All the respondents showed no ambiguity while expressing their liking for the fact that there

exist several number of religions in Russia. Their inequvivocalness in recoginising the presence of several religions suggests their ameniablity for the people of other religions. Hundred per cent (100%) of the total respondents replied in positive. This should be interpreted as the readyness of the students for interaction towards the students of other religions. Also, the likebility suggests a strong prospect of these students recognising the personswithbeliefs belonging to different religions. The survey observes that five (5) female students among the respondents added their comments appreciating the fact that Russia has several Religions existing in its territory. While doing this, one of these sutdents Alina[81] commented "Yes, I think it makes Russia more tolerant and multiform" (Personal Interview 2018) . Sipina, a young student of the university emphasised the freedom of religion as well. According to her "Russia having several religions is good and everyone can choose what he likes himself" (Personal Interview 2018). Similarly, according to Sofia, this is "very important for a country" (Personal Interview 2018). Moreover, a student Anastasia mentioned that she is "proud" of the fact that Russia has several number of religions and Dodelia discussed the "benifits" of having such religious diversity in Russia (Personal Interview 2018).

Second question to the interviewees deals with the preferibility of their friendship with the students belonging toother religion by asking them - Do you prefer making friends with people of other **Religions**? Out of fifty two (52) respondents, forty nine (49) respondents replied positively. It reveals that ninety four per cent (94%) of the total respondents prefer making friends in other religions. Thus, majority of the students are found to give positive while responding to this question as well. This positive response is very pertinent to the preference of the students to make friends with the students of other religion that signifies their cordial inclination towards them. The respondents' recognition of the difference of religion as well as the preference of friendship with the students belonging to other religions sinifies their inclination of participation as well. This preparedness of their friendship towards others fecilitates the socio-political interaction among them and manifests the tolerant disposition of the respondents in their corresponding attitudes. Replying on this question, most of the students commented that they "don't care" about the religion of a person with which they are becoming friends (Personal Interview 2018). Similarly they also

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[81]Name is changed.

mentioned several religions categories like "Buddhists", " Muslims", "Christians" while showcasing their friendship with people of other religions. A student Marina commented that "it's very cool to have friends of other religion" (Personal Interview 2018). Here, Marina's statement reflects the positive factor of reconition and participation in her interaction.

The third question of this section asks - Do you like to participate in the Customs and Traditional Cultural practices of other **Religions**? It attempts to find the participative disposition of the students. By the means of this question, a query is made to locate the attitude of cultural participation of the respondent students in the cultural activities of those students belonging to other religions. As a response to the query, majority of the students acknowledged their positive inclination in participating in the cultural activities of other religions. Moreover, the survey observes that six (6) students found such participation "intresting" and are looking forward to be a part of cultural customs and festivals of other religious groups. However, while responding to this question six (6) students denied having a liking to participate in such customs and festivals. Thus, forty six (46) students, making a majority, maintained their positive response to the question. Thus, eighty eight per cent (88%) respondents hold the positive attitude. This position of students reflects the qualities of recognition and participation in their attitudes with respect to interaction with the students of other religions.

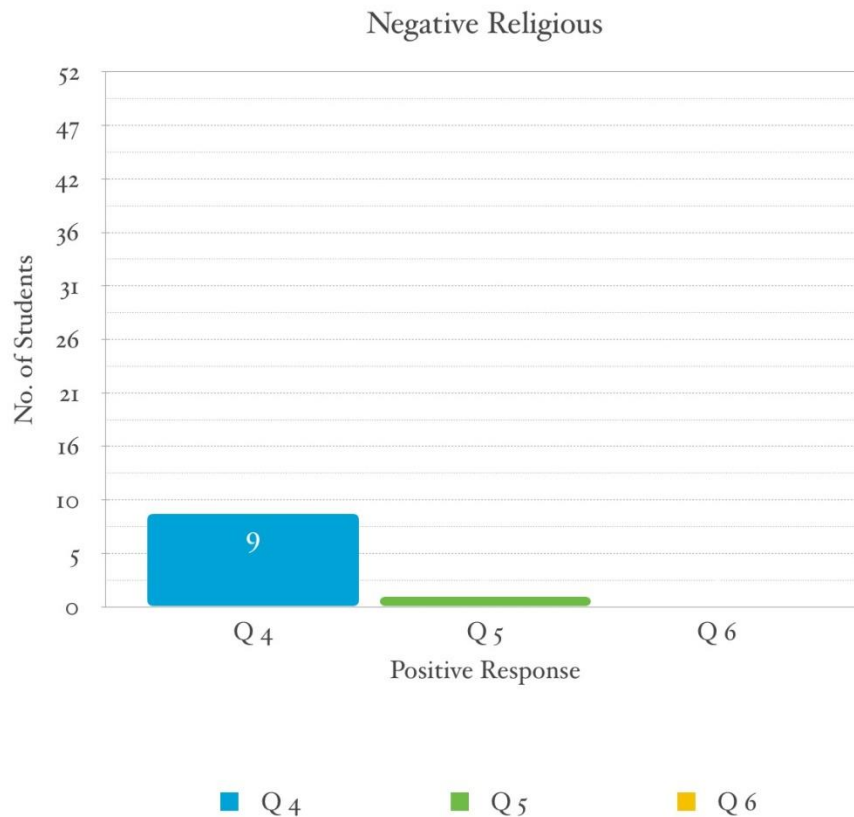## II.    Negative Religious (Moscow State University)



**Figure 14: Negative Religious (MSU)**

The second section attempts to explore the negative attitude of Prejudice among the students of Moscow State University. It comprises the next three questions i.e. Question 4, 5 and 6, asked to the interviewed students in order to trace their Negative attitude towards the fellow students belonging to other religions. The findings of this section would establish the presence of Religious Tolerance among the students by the observation of the transcendence of tolerance from the negative markers of attitudes among them.

The fourth question asks - Which **Religion** do you like the least? (Why?). It inquires the students about their least liking for any particular religion. In the findings it has been noted total nine (09) students, which makes approximately seventeen per cent (17%) students of the total interviewed, responded positively and also mentioned the

name of the religion they liked the least. Among these nine (9) students, according to six (06) students, Islam is their most disliked religion. Two students mentioned the corresponding cause of their dislike as well. According to Richard, who mentioned the cause, he disliked Islam because according to him it is "*intolerant* to other religions" (Personal Interview 2018). Another student, Elizaveta  mentioned that his cause of the dislike for Islam lies in the fact that there are "*lots of terrorists because of this religion*"(Personal Interview 2018). The remaining two of the nine responded that they "*dislike all religions equally.*" (Personal Interview 2018). However, most of the respondents, comprising eighty three per cent (83%) of the total respondents denied having least liking for any particular religion, thus indicating no presence of negative prejudicial attitudes of discrimination among their mutual interaction.

The Fifth question is - Is there any particular **Religious** group of fellow students you avoid becoming friends with? (Why?). It attempts to trace the existence of negative attitudes among the students which leads them to avoid certain persons of a particular religion from making their friends. On this query, only one (01) student, Sasha (out of all 52) replied positively and mentioned "may be Muslim" in response. While four (04) students opined that they "do not care" about the religion of a person while making friends (Personal Interview 2018), four (04) Students responded that "all people are equal" (Personal Interview 2018). A student Peter also said that "MSU is a big family and we are all friends" (Personal Interview 2018). In fact, as a response to this question, majority of the students maintained the value of friendship as being positively independent of the religious factor involved in it. However, forty three (43) out of fifty two (52) students who were interviewed replied negative and not showing the attitude of exclusion and discrimination among their social interaction in the campus.

The last question of this section is - Is there any particular **Religious** group of fellow students who are undeserving / incapable / incompetent to acquire education? This question is the 6th one in the series that attempts to find the perspective of the students which makes certain persons incapable or incompetent of acquiring education because of their belief in a certain religion. It should be noted that no student replied positively while answering this question. This reading suggests that hundred per cent out of the

total interviewed students indicated the absence of the prejudicial attitude of religious discrimination and exclusion among their mutual interaction. Moreover, the survey finds several students commenting "all are equal and deserve equal education" (Personal Interview 2018). Some of them also mentioned that the capability of acquiring the education depends on the "character" of the persons. Few also maintained that it is everybody's right to get education and it should be "accessible" to everybody equally (Personal Interview 2018). Altogether, the assessments of reactions of the students for this query indicate the absence of the negative prejudicial attitude of discrimination in their social interaction among fellow students.

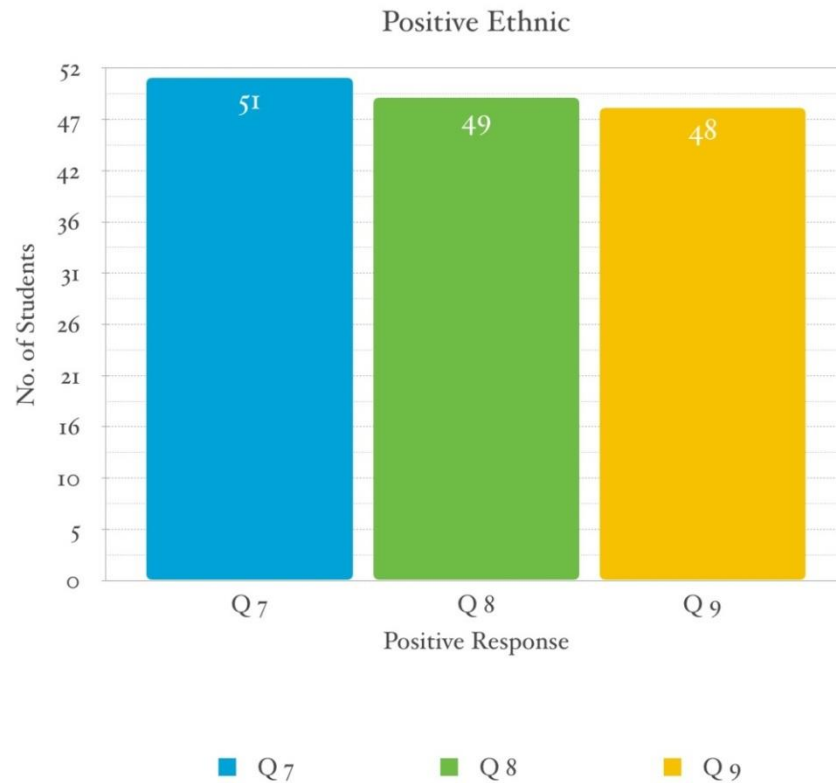### III.    Positive Ethnic (Moscow State University)



Positive Ethnic

Similar to the first section, this section is created to scrutinize the recognitivepositive attitude among the students of MSU. It attempts to locate the Ethnic Tolerance among these students by investigating their positive attitude with the fellow students of other ethnicities. While doing this, the positive factors of recognition and participation are examined through the query comprising of 7th, 8th and 9th and  question, asked to the interviewed students.

The findings of this section marks the despositions of the interviewed students reasonabely positive in their attitudes. The seventh question inquired - Do you like the fact that Russia has several **Ethnicities**? It attempts to find the likeability of the students on the fact that Russia has several number of ethnicities.It recieved 51

responses positively which makes it ninety-eight per cent (98.07%) of the total numbers. Almost all of the students admitted expressively that they like the fact that Russia has several number of ethnicities. One person amongst all didn't know the requisite response as she replied "don't know" in the survey (Personal Interview 2018). Thus, the positive response of almost all the students reflects the presence of the attitudes of recognition in the interaction among the students.

The eighth question asks - Do you prefer making friends with people of other **Ethnicities**? It inquired about the preference of the students for making friends with respect of ethnic diversity.Particularly, it attempted to learn about their preference about making friends from other ethnicities. This query also received a majority of positive responses. Here, 49 students or ninety-four per cent (94.23 %) responded in a positive way. Among these six (6) students i.e. approximately twelve per cent (12%) of the total interveiwees responded that they are very "exited" as well as "intrested" in making friends with the students of other ethnicities and "appreciate" if such friendships happen (Personal Interview 2018). However, three (3) students i.e. approximately five per cent (5%) responded negatively, maintaining that they do not prefer to make friends with the students of other ethnicities. The scrutiny of the survey suggests a negligible presense of ethnic prejudice. Thus, with the majority of students responding for the preference of making friends of other ethnicites, the reading indicates the presense of positive attitudes of recognition and participation leading towards ethnic tolerance.

The 9th question is - Do you like to participate in the Customs and Traditional Cultural practices of other **Ethnicities**? It explores the views of the students on their participation in the cultural customs and festivals of the fellow students belonging to other ethnicities. In the survey to find this, majority of the students responded positively while giving their views on this query. Forty eight (48) students, which makesapproximately ninety-two (92%) of the total students responded in affirmation saying "yes" to the question. Among these students, three (3) positively opined that they are always "interested" and "look forward" to participate in the cultural events of other ethnicities (Personal Interview 2018). However, three (3) students i.e. approximately six per cent (6%) responded to this query in negative. While, one (1) respondent refrained to respond to this question. The overall observation of the responses signals the negative attitude of prejudice in very few students. Majority of

the students showcase the presense of the positive attitudes of participation and recognition among their interaction.

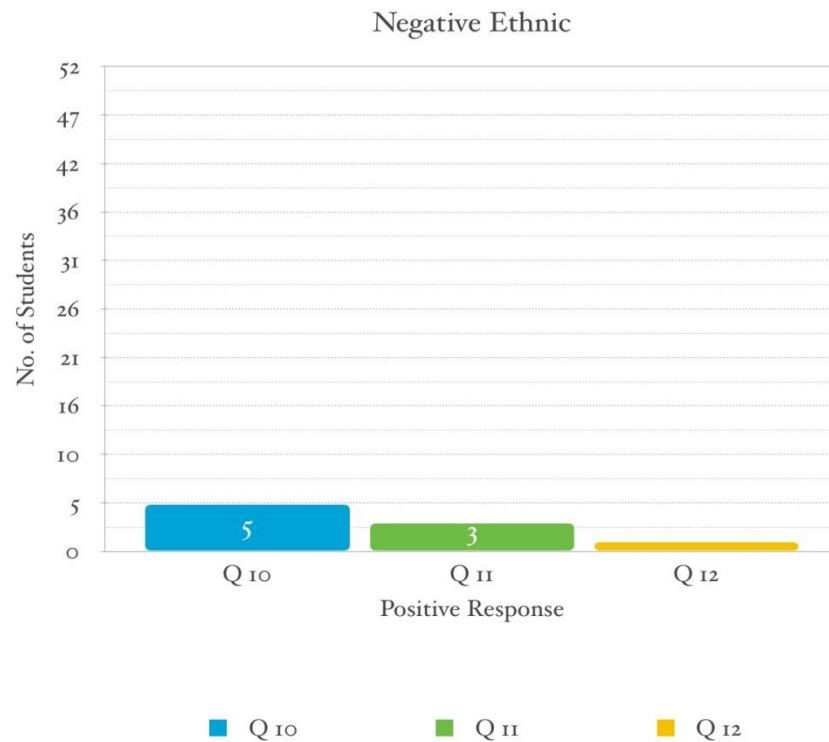## IV.     Negative Ethnic (Moscow State University)



Negative Ethnic

**Figure 16: Negative Ethnic (MSU)**

The fourth section is set in a way to investigate the negative attitudes of the students of MSU in order to trace ethnic tolerance among the interaction of these students. This query comprises questions 10, 11 and 12 which attempt to find the presense of prejudice among the students with respect to the ethnicity of fellow students. The findings of this section would establish the existence of ethnic tolerance among the students of MSU by marking the presence of negative attitude.

The 10th question enquired - Which **Ethnicity** do you like the least? (Why?). It asked the students about their least liking for any particular ethnicity. Upon investigation, it is observed that five (05) students, approxmately three per cent (3%) of the total students interviewed, responded mentioning their least liked ethnicity. While

mentioning the ethnicities they named Dagestani, Yakut, Chechan, Baskhir, Tajikand Usbek among their least liked ones. One of these students, Masha, who marked the dislike for Chechans specifically, mentioned his/her/their reason as "Chechans are mean and aggressive" (Personal Interview 2018). Among the total respondents, five (05), i.e.approximately three per cent (3%) left the question unanswered. However, around nine (09) students responded by mentioning that they "respect all ethnicities" and "all are equally good". Thus, in an overview, the survery observes that dispite of some examples of the students having negative prejudicial attitudes of exclusion and ethnic discrimination, majority of the students showcase absense of such negative attitudes. Moreover, they have exhibited positive attitude among their interaction.

The 11th question enquired - Is there any particular **Ethnic** group of fellow students you avoid becoming friends with? (Why?) It explores the existence of negative prejudicial attitudes among the students which leads them to avoid certain persons belonging to a certain ethnicity while making them friends. While responding to this question, three (03) respondents i.e. approximately two per cent (2%) respondent students replied positively, where they also mentioned the reasons for their dislike. Among these, one of the students, George, avoided *Africans* because "their culture is complicated and they stay completly within their own ethnicity" (Personal Interveiw 2018). An another student Angela avoided Caucausus people yet commenting "though they are not bad" (Personal Interveiw 2018). Similarly, a student of MSU - Lucy's reason for the avoidence of *Chinese* people is "their culture is bad" (Personal Interveiw 2018). However five (05) students were positive and mentioned that they "respect" all ethnicities and would ready to be friends with people and groups of any ethnicities. Five (05) respondent students refrained from answering this query. Thus, this particular query observes that majority of the respondent students i.e. approximately ninety four per cent (94%) of the total respondent students did not show the signs of negative prejudicial attitudes of exclusion in the survey.

The 12th and the last question asks – Is there any particular **Ethnic** group of fellow students who are undeserving/ incapable/ incompetent to acquire education? (Why?).It attempts to enquire the propablity of an opinion of any student which thinks certain persons incapable or incompetent of acquiring education because of them belonging to a certain ethnicity. While responding, only one (1) student among fifty two (52) replied in affirmattion. In his reason to have this opinion about a certain

group, this student mentioned the ethnic group of Africans while stating "They lack motivation and lack career oppurtunities in their home country". However, almost all except the single student did not show signs of prejudicial attitude of exclusion. Ninety eight per cent (98%) of all the respondent scan be seen to be positive and respectful of the students of other ethnicities in their attitudes. Furthermore, four (04) students responded that "all have equal right to education" (Personal Interview 2018). Such a reading can lead to the further achievement of positive attitudes of participation as well. Five(05) students among the respondents refrained from answering this question leaving no comment.

ii.      **Some Observations about Interaction in MSU**

The investigation of the interactive patterns of religious and ethnic tolerance in NCFU exposits the presense of tolerance in the University. Furthermore, the inference of the study of tends to exhibit the indicators of religious and ethnic tolerance in the attitudes of the students of NCFU. However, the scientific conclusion of the study needs a critical analysis of the investigation. As already observed in the framework of the study, the nature of tolerance along with its counterpart concepts applied in order to observe the trends in the university, is complex and needs analytical evaluation.

The study of strong toleration suggests about the positive recokning of tolerance amon the students'of MSU. Their majority responses have shown the ascending degrees of recognition, participation and respect leading towards the harmonious and associated living conditions because of their praxis of tolerance. However, although the negative attitudes of prejudice does not necessarity indicate intolerance, but, there are also few examples of the students found that showed the signs of religious and ethnic prejudice signalling the absense of tolerance among the students of MSU.

Even though the majority of the students denied negative attitudes among their fellow students, few personal interviews marked such attitudes among the students of MSU. The perspective of Moscow State University's Sabina, a girl from a religious minority in Russia also belonging to a minoriy ethnic group, can throw some light on the prominent factors determining the negative attitudes of a youth group towards that of other youth groups. According to Sabina, in the city of Moscow, she is not

steryotyped because she is a 'chechen'. However, she becomes the victim of prejudice and other such negative attidudes by the other people of Moscow because of her Muslim identity. Sabina confessed that she has to face

*"stereotypical comments and bad jokes because I am a Muslim. It becomes easy for other people to recognise my identity because of my name. Though the world outside the campus is more prejudiced for my religious identity, there are certain students in our university as well, who don't like me only because i am a Muslim. In fact, I know few students who belong to our MSU community who do not like me because of my Muslim religion."*

The issue of prejudice and exclusion among the interaction of the students is a complex one. Though it may not ensure the presense of intolerance, it affects the harmonious and associated life in that particular multicultural society. Minority students of various cultural and social backgrounds face diffilculties in the educational spaces. Hence, the case of MSU is no different to such issues of mutual rocognitive-respectful co-existince. Perhaps, the issue is affects the positive efforts of the majority population as well. MSU fraternity as a specimen of a cosmopolitanism and diversity faces such issues at practical levels affecting its socio-political mosaic at different levels.

According to Luidmila Kholkhova, professor of Linguistics at Moscow State University she never knew the religion or ethnicity of any student whom she teaches. In her interview, she recollected "Among my so many batches of students of MSU, i hardly knew about the religion and ethnicity of any students." Yet, probed further on the basis of the knowledge via previous interviews about the exclusion of "asian" students, she replied that "yes!, there may be a difference in attitude among the students or teachers with the 'asian' students. But, this is not because of they belong to different race, or ethnicity or religion, but their academic performance in classes. If you ask me, i would say that they do not work hard in their studies. Therefore, we or perhaps, other students act differently with them." (Personal Interview 2018).

Though the issues of prejudices and exclusions are less in MSU but still these issues concerns the fraternity of the university. Such instances may not be affecting tolerance negatively but surely condition the quality of co-existence among the students. Furthermore, the inferential remarks in the later sections of the chapter, discusses the practical affects of strong tolerance on the students of MSU.

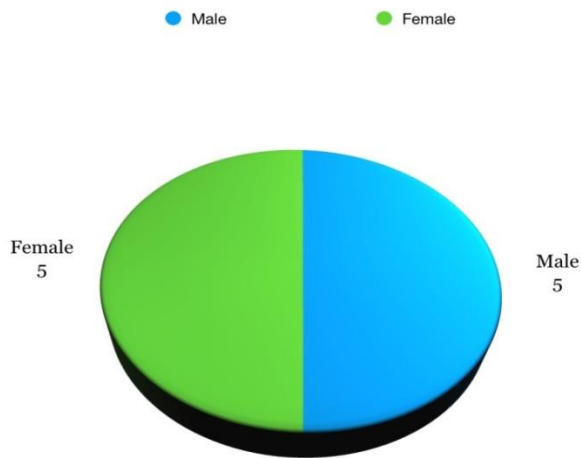### i.    Study of Religious and Ethnic Tolerance in North Caucasus Federal University



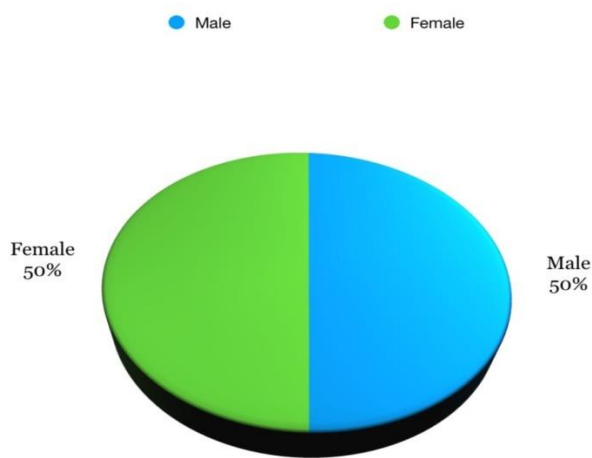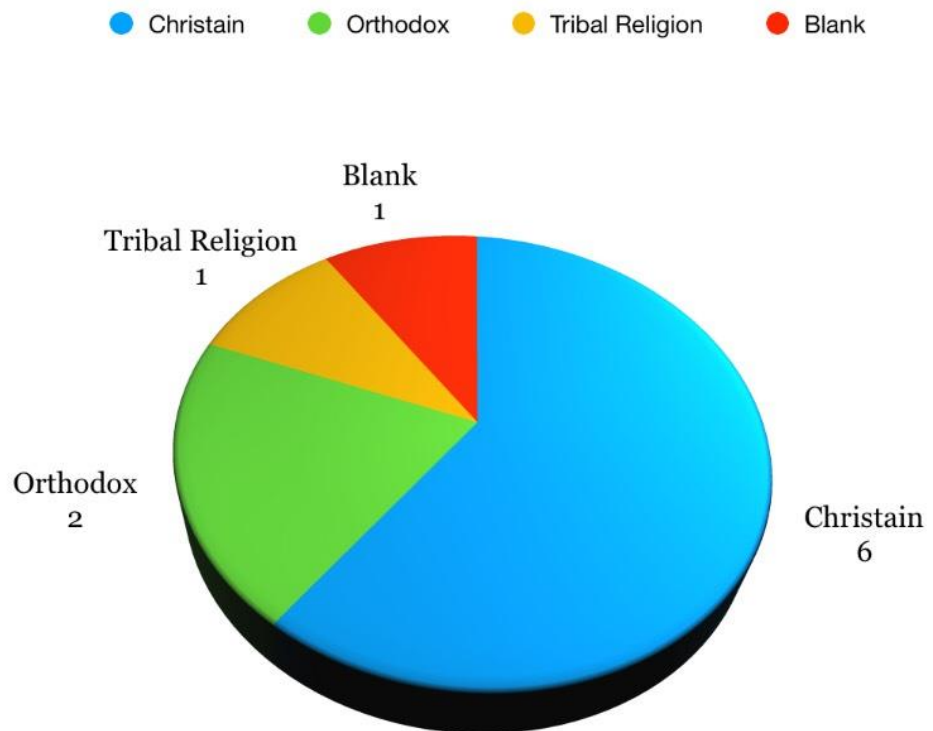**Figure 17: Gender Representation of Student Respondents at NCFU (Numbers).**
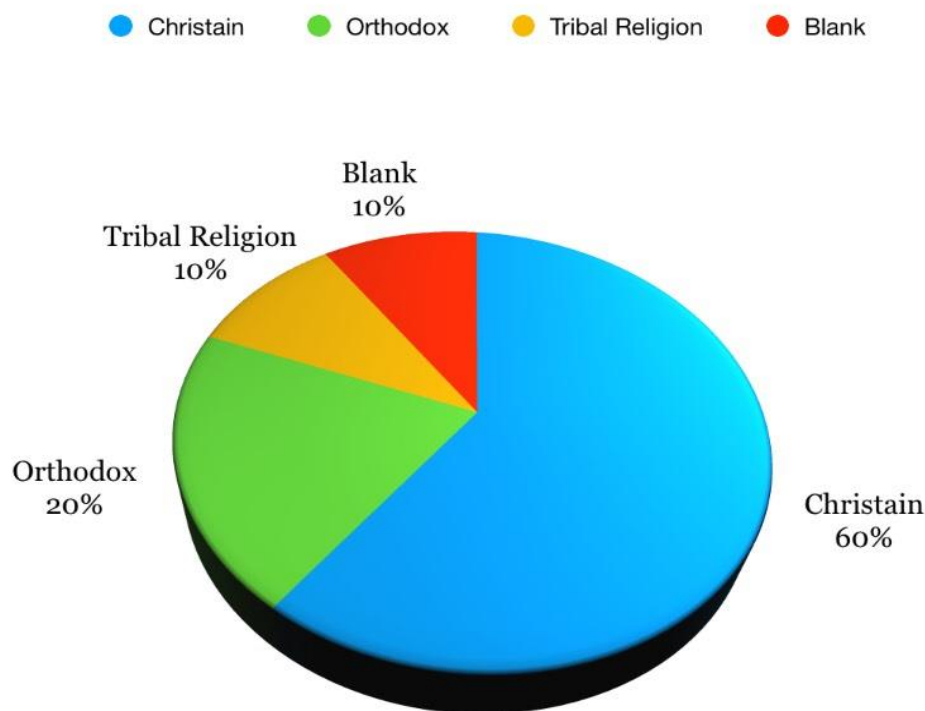


**Figure 18: Gender Representation of Student Respondents at NCFU (Percentage).**

The abovefigures depict the gender distribution of the interviewd students of NCFU. Accordingly, five (5) female and five (5) male students participated in the survey. The first figure depicts the total numbers of male and female student respondents and the second figure depicts their proportional representation in percentage.
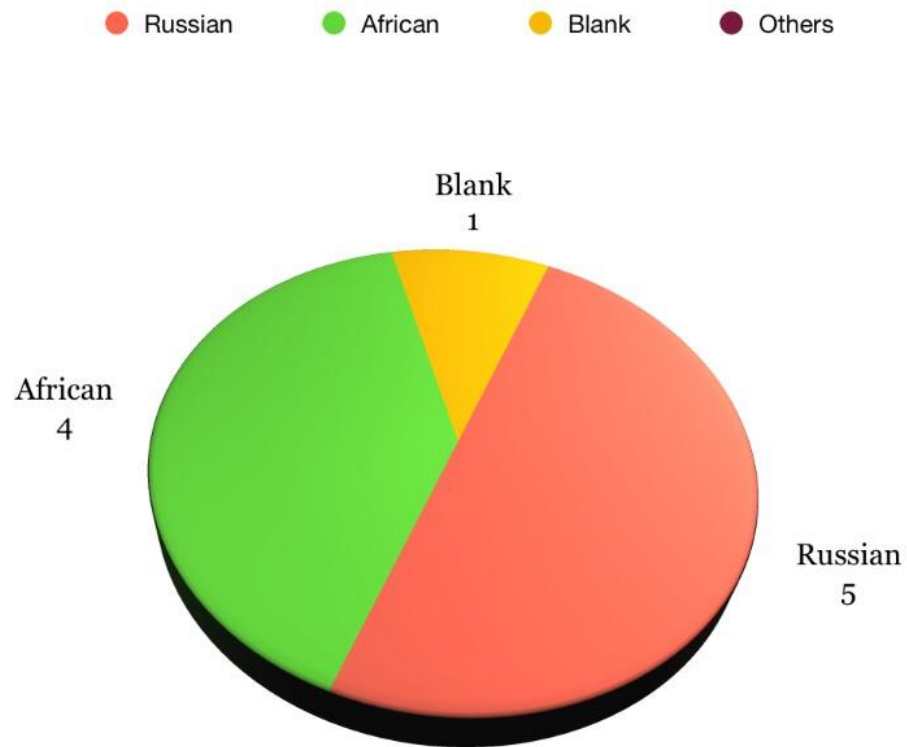
**Figure 19: Religious Diversity of the Student Respondents at NCFU (Numbers)**

The above figure is a graphical representation of the information collected during the survey among NCFU students. It displays the numeric distribution of the total respondents with respect to their Religious affiliation. Accordingly, among the total interviewd students there are six (6) Christains, two (2) Orthodox and one (1) student affiliated to a "tribal religion" (Personal Interview 2018). Among the total respondents one (1) student left the response space empty without mentioning their respective religion.
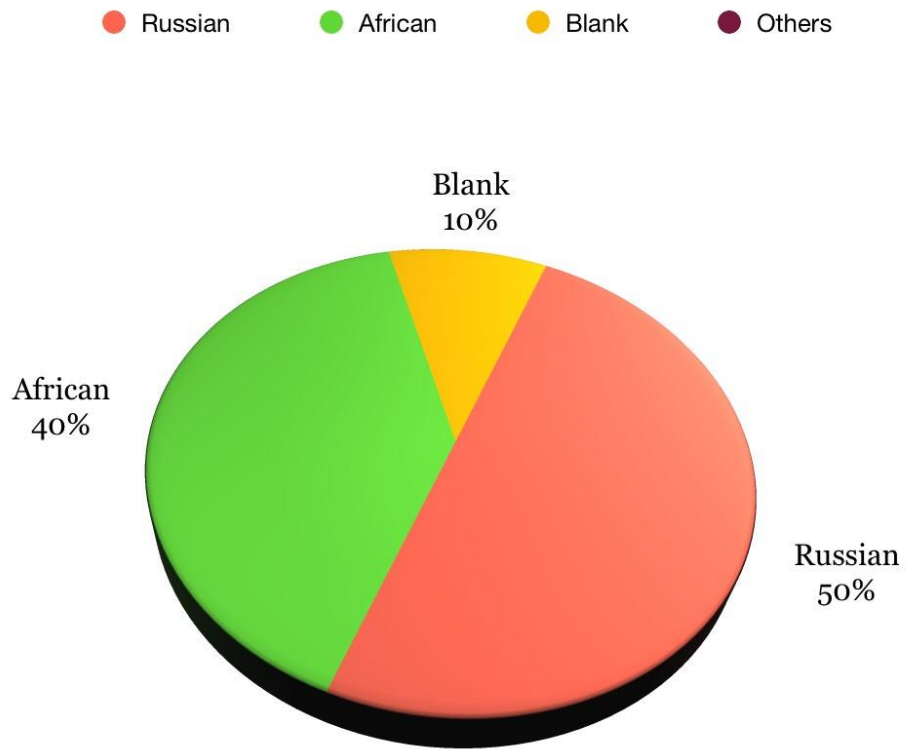
The above figure is a graphical representation of the information collected during the survey among NCFU students. It displays the proportional distribution of the total respondents with respect to their Religious affiliation in perentage. Accordingly, among the total interviewd students there are sixty (60%) per cent Christains, twenty (20%) per cent are Orthodox and ten (10%) per cent belong to a "tribal religion" (Personal Interview 2018). Among the total respondents ten (15%) students left the response space blank without mentioning their respective religion.

The above figure is a graphical representation of the information collected during the survey among the students of NCFU. It displays the numeric distribution of the total respondents with respect to their Ethnic affiliation. Accordingly, among the total interviewd students there are thirty one (5) Russians and four (4) Africans. Among the total respondents one (1) student left the response space blank without mentioning her respective ethnicity.

**Figure 22: Gender Representation of Student Respondents at NCFU (Percentage).**

The above figure is a graphical representation of the information collected during the survey among the students of NCFU. It displays the proportional distribution of the total respondents with respect to their Ethnic affiliation in percentage. Accordingly, among the total interviewd students there are thirty one (50%) per cent Russians and fourty (40%) per cent Africans. Among the total respondents ten (10%) students left the response space blank without mentioning their respective ethnicity.

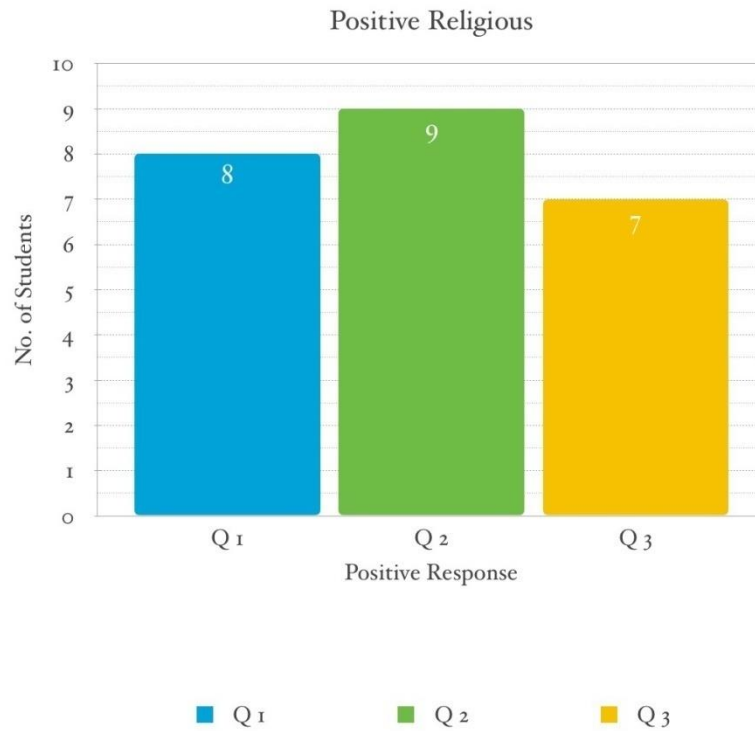## I.      Positive Religious (North Caucasus Federal University)



**Figure 23: Positive Religious (NCFU)**

The first Section – Positive Religious – attempts to investigate the positive attitudes of recognition and participation among the interaction of the students of NFCU. This section comprises of the first three question asked to the students of North Caucasus Federal University, Stavropol. These questions aim to trace the Religious Tolerance among the attitudes of the students via finding the markers of positive outlook of recognition, positive participation and moreover, Respect for fellow students.

Enquired among ten (10) students, all of them responded positively when asked about their likeabelity of the fact that Russia has several number of religions in the first question. Infact, all the respondents showed no ambiguity while expressing their

liking for the fact that there exists several number of religions in Russia. Their inequvivocalness in recoginising the presence of several religions suggests their ameniablity for the people of other religions. This should be interpreted as the readyness of the students for the interaction towards the students of other religions. Also, the likebility suggests a strong prospect of these students having respect for persons belonging to different religions.

In this section consisting of first three questions majority of the respondes replied in positive. The fact of majority of people responding positively when asked about the participation, recognition and respectibility of other religions indicates the sense of religious tolerance present the attitudes of the students of the university.

The first question asks - Do you like the fact that Russia has several **Religions**? It intended to enquire the students if they liked the fact that Russia has a number of religons.In response to this question eight (8) out of ten (10) students, which constitutes eighty per cent of the total respondent students replied in positive affirming that they liked the fact that Russia has several number of religions. Two (2) of the ten (10) students replied in negative which makes twenty per cent (20%) of the students. These students denied liking the fact of Russia having several number of religions. The observation of the number of students having two opposite opinions regarding the same fact suggests that the students of the university differ in their opinions about religious diversity. Twenty percent (20%) students' response in negative indicates the probablity of circumstances where they like only certain number or specific kind of religions, therefore, they have denied liking the fact of Russia having many religions. However, the observation exhibiting the positive response of the eighty percent (80%) respondents suggests that majority of the students welcome the fact of Russia having several number of religions. This reading indicates the acceptability and recognition to other religions. It also menifests the probablity of tolerancein the majority of respondents for other religions and their followers.

Second question inquires - Do you prefer making friends with people of other **Religions?** Nine (9) people out of ten (10) responded in the positive when this question was asked in NCFU. Ninety per cent (90%) of the total respondents affirmed

in their liking of their preferred friendship with the people belonging to other religions. There is only one person among the respondents who denied the preference of making friends with other religions. On this question, the fact that majority of the people responded positively suggests the existence of the sense of acceptability and recognition for the people of other religions. This criterion fulfils the necessary conditions of a group of people to be religiously tolerant.

The third question asks - Do you like to participate in the Customs and Traditional Cultural practices of other **Religions**? This question focuses on the participative aspect of the respondents. While responding to this question seven (7) out of ten (10) people replied in positive. Three (3) respondents denied their liking for participating in the practices of other religions. Even though the majority of the respondents are affirming about the participation, but compared to the previous two questions, the number of persons denying participation in other religious culture is slightly higher i.e. seventy per cent (70%) of the total respondents. However, the liking for participation of the majority signifies the probability of existing positive norms of participation and recognition making a case of a religious tolerant group of people.

## II.     Negative Religious (North Caucasus Federal University)



Negative Religious
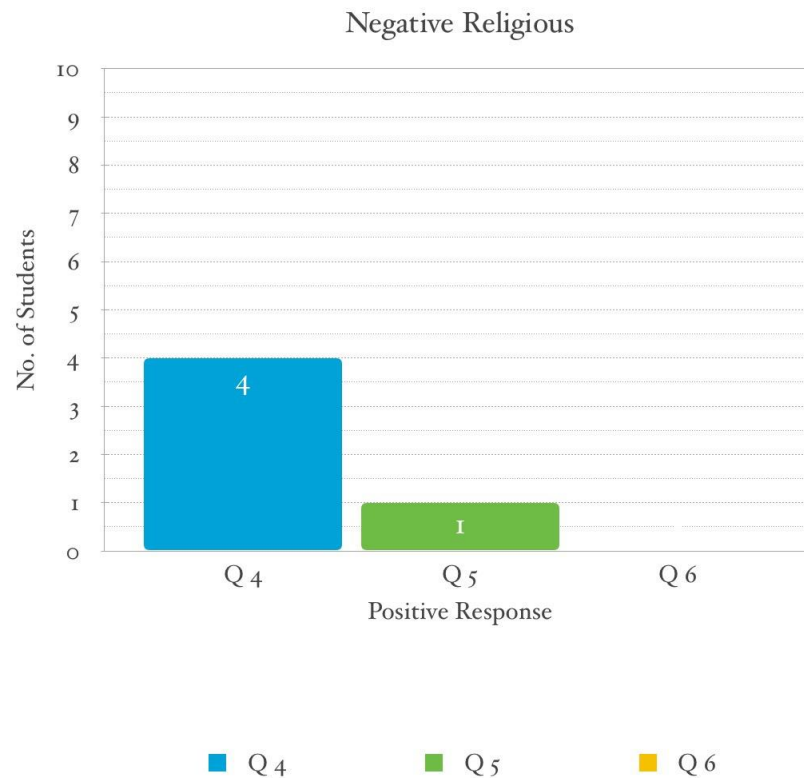
**Figure 24: Negative Religious (NCFU)**

The second section is devised to investigate the negative attitude of prejudice among the interaction of the students of North Caucasus Federal University. In this section, the three questions – number 4, 5 and 6 are aimed to explore the attitudes of exclusion and discrimination with respect to the relative prejudice among the respondent students. It focuses on finding attitudes of religious tolerance among these respondents.

In this series, the fourth question asks - Which **Religion** do you like the least? (Why?). While, responding to this query, which attempted to find the least liked

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religion of the respondents, four (4) students replied in positive out of total ten (10) interviewed students. Forty per cent (40%) respondents replied in positive while responding to this question. Among these students, three mentioned 'Islam' for several reasons. For example, one of the reasons as mentioned by a student was "because it is a religion of death. People turn over the essence of Islam (sic)" (Personal Interview 2018). According to another student among these set of three, she likes Islam least for "people get crazy over religion or God" (Personal Interview 2018).Also, the third student mentioned that he likes Islam least because "it has so many rules" (Personal Interview 2018). One more religion that is mentioned by a student named Mike in this category is "AumShinrikiyo[82]". According to him, the reason for his least liking is because the mentioned religion is "aggressive" (Personal Interview 2018).

The fifth question attempts to investigate the negative attitude of prejudice among the students by asking - Is there any particular **Religious** group of fellow students you avoid becoming friends with? (Why?). While responding to this query, only one out of ten respondent students replied in positive. Particularly, this question strives to explore the attitude of 'exclusion' among the students of NCFU. The avoidance of any individual or group on the basis of religious bias can locate the presence of prejudicial exclusion. Hence, according to the survey only one (1) respondent i.e. ten percent (10%) students of the total respondents is found to practice exclusion among the interaction with other fellow students of campus.

The next question i.e. the sixth one, which is the last question of this section asks - Is there any particular **Religious** group of fellow students who are undeserving/ incapable/ incompetent to acquire education? The query is attempting to find the prejudicial attitude of discrimination among the students of NCFU. In this effort, the precise objective strives to find the perspective of the students which registers certain set of people incapable or incompetent of acquiring education because of their belief in certain religions. While assessing the numbers of the survey, it is found that no student responded in positive when asked about this question. Moreover, few respondents commented that they "find all equal" (Personal Interview 2018). This reading of the observation where all respondents are denying the question by negative

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[82] Is a Japanese religious cult controversial for sarin attacks. It is founded by Shoko Asahara in 1984.

response, exhibits the missing prejudicial attitude of exclusion and discrimination among their interaction.

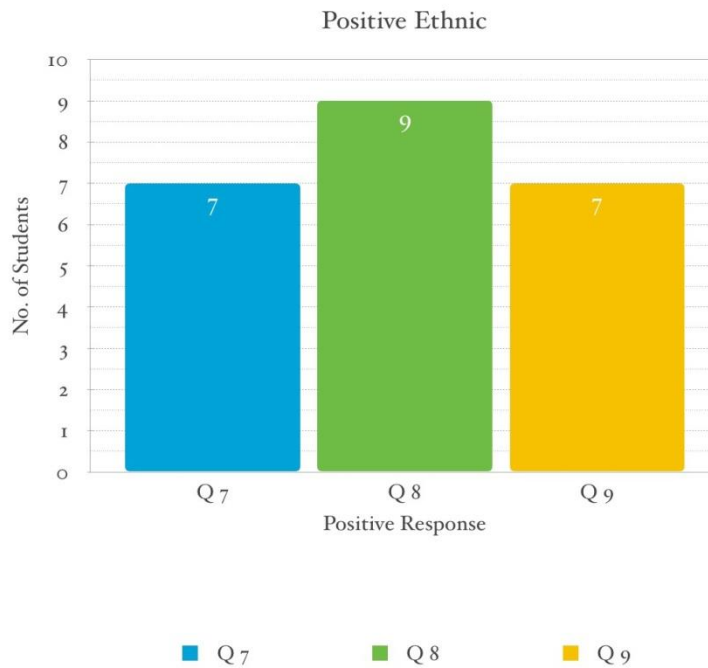## III.    Positive Ethnic (North Caucasus Federal University)



Figure 25: Positive Ethnic (NCFU)

In order to trace the presence of tolerance in the students, this section deals with finding the positive attitudes among their mutual interaction. Similar to the first section which attempts to scrutinize the religious tolerance, this section strives to analyse the ethnic counterpart of it. Furthermore, the section would asses the presence of transcendence of tolerance in the attitudes of students to locate the behaviour of recognition, participation and respect.

The first question of this section that is the 7th question of the survey, enquires - Do you like the fact that Russia has several **Ethnicities**? Seven (7) students out of ten (10) replied in the positive while responding to this question. Proportionately, seventy per cent (70%) of the respondents affirmed the fact that they like several number of ethnicities existing in Russian Federation. However, three (3) students, which make thirty per cent (30%) of the total respondents, maintained their negative response. Thus, affirmation of the majority of respondents indicates their recognition for other ethnicities.

While attempting to investigate the recognitive attitude of the students, question eight asked them - Do you prefer making friends with people of other **Ethnicities**? Majority of the students maintained their positive stance while responding to this question as well. Out of ten (10) students who were interviewed in the survey, nine (9) students replied that they prefer making friends with people of other Ethnicities. Thus, ninety per cent (90%) of the total respondents affirmed with the question. However, only ten per cent (10%) among students i.e. one (1) student in number, denied her preference in making friends with people belonging to other ethnicities. The reading of the observation indicates the presence of positive attitudes of recognition in the interaction of the respondent students.

The ninth (9th) question, which is the last question in the series devised to find the positive aspects of ethnic tolerance among the students, asked them – Do you like to participate in the Customs and Traditional Cultural practices of other **Ethnicities**? While responding to this question, seven (7) out of ten (10) students responded positively. Hence, seventy per cent (70%) of the total respondents confirmed about their willingness to participate in the customs and practices of the people belonging to other ethnicities. Yet, three (3) students who constitute thirty percent of the total respondents replied in the negative while replying to this question. Thus, the observation assesses that majority of the students responded positively to this question. This reading exhibits the positive attitudes of recognition and participation among the interviewed students of NCFU.
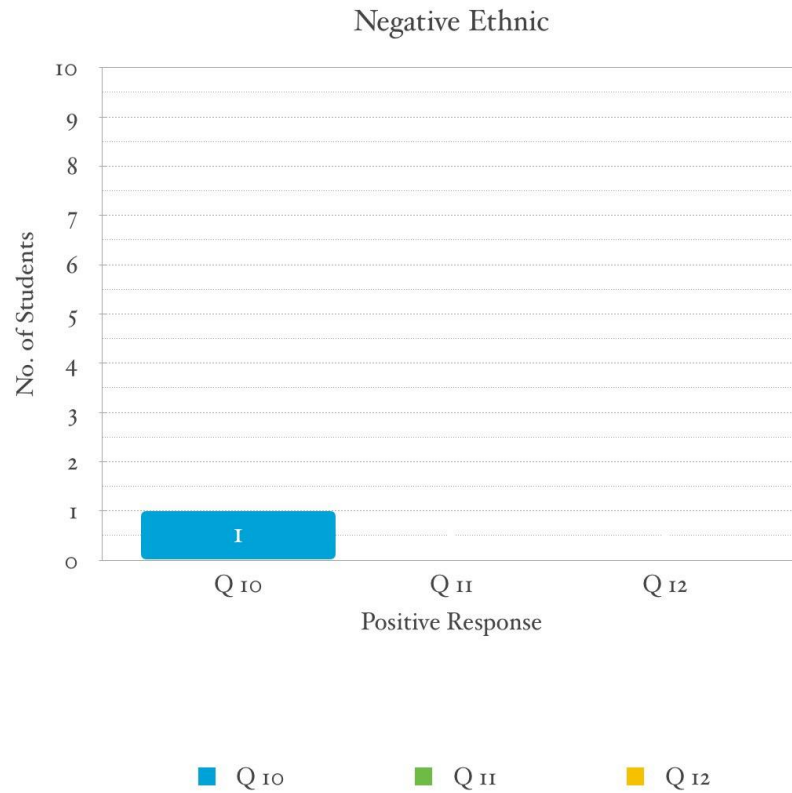
## IV. Negative Ethnic (North Caucasus Federal University)



**Figure 26: Negative Ethnic (NCFU)**

The fourth is the last section among the set. It attempts to investigate the ethnic tolerance and its transcendence in the attitudes of students among their interaction with fellow students of NCFU. This comprises Question 10, 11 and 12 which attempts to find the presense of negative attitudes prejudice among the interaction of students.

In this section, among the set of three questions, question ten enquires - Which **Ethnicity** do you like the least? (Why?). The investigation notes that, out of the total ten (10) respondents, only one (1) student responded in the positive. But this student did neither named the least liked ethnicity nor expressed the reason for it. This respondent represents ten per cent of the total interviewed students. Remaining nine

(9), which makes ninety per cent (90%) of the total students, did reply in negative. While assessing these numbers it is observed that majority of the students are less prejudiced about other ethnicities.

The eleventh question asked - Is there any particular **Ethnic** group of fellow students you avoid becoming friends with? (Why?). This question attempts to scrutinize the negative prejudicial attitudes of exclusion and discrimination in order to locate the levels of ethnic tolerance among the students of NCFU. So far this question is concerned; all of the interviewed students denied the avoidance of certain ethnic groups. All ten (10) respondents, i.e. hundred per cent (100%) of all the respondents replied to this question in negative. Thus, the prejudicial attitude of exclusion is found missing in the respondent students of NCFU.

The twelfth question also met the similar response from the interviewed students of NCFU. While questioning the students in the survey it is asked in this query - Is there any particular Ethnic group of fellow students who are undeserving/ incapable/ incompetent to acquire education? (Why?). The response of all the students to this query is in the negative. All ten students, that comprise hundred per cent (100%) of all the respondents, denied the presence of such ethnic group or individual. Thus, all of these students showcased the absence of the prejudicial attitudes of exclusion and discrimination among the social interaction of students.

## ii.     Some Observations of Interaction in NCFU

The investigation of the trends in religious and ethnic tolerance in NCFU clarifies the presense of tolerance in the University. In fact, the inference of the study of the Interaction is indicates the signs of religious and ethnic tolerance in the attitudes of the students of NCFU. However, for the acquisitin of the scientific conclusion of the study, a critical analysis of the investigation is equally necessary. As already observed in the framework of the study, the nature of tolerance along with its counterpart concepts applied in order to observe the trends in the university, is complex and needs analytical evaluation.

As far as the questionnaire survey is concerned, the study of strong toleration suggests the positive reckoning of tolerance among the students of NCFU. The majority of their responses have shown the ascending degrees of recognition, participation and respect leading towards the harmonious and associated living conditions because of their praxis of tolerance. However, although the negative attitudes of prejudice do not necessarity indicate intolerance,  there are also few examples found of the students that showed signs of religious and ethnic prejudice signalling the absence of  tolerance among the students of NCFU. For example, in detailing her response, Valeria, a student of North Caucasus Federal University, affirmed the existence of prejudice among the students in the university. According to her, the students of the ethnic minorities like "Dagestanies and Chechans form their own small groups. They are not always seen with equal respect by the local students as they behave in a *different* manner." She added "These students wear *different* type of clothes and talk in a coarse kind of tones and because of these reasons the are treated differently." Specifying the significance of religion as a determining factor in shaping the interaction among the students of the University she commented "Religion does not play a very prime role in our interactions and we, without caring of religion, make friends among fellow students. I have friends of other religions. I have athiest friends also. But, it doesn't affect our friendships." (Personal Interview 2018)

In the course of research and particularly, during the field work it is observed that the Russian people do not percieve the idea of tolerance as a positive and virtuous concept. In fact, it is observed that a sense of discouragement is attached to the concept of tolerance by the Russians. In comparision with the ideas of nationalism, patriotrism and fraternity the idea of tolerance is considered something that "devides" the society. Perhaps, majority of the Russians did not consider tolerance as a virtue (Personal Interview 2018).

According to Viktor Avksentev, a former Professor of North Caucasus Federal University who has been an expert authority on the Religious and Ethnic Diversity of Russia, the concept of Tolerance is innately "Negative. It makes the Integration in a nation very difficult because it prevents the formation of a common identity." He elaborates by locating tolerance in the ambit of 'Assimilation', where "tolerance happens when the citizens of a state try to assimilate some citizens. Whereas for a peaceful living of the population, 'Integration' should happen instead of

'Assimilation'. He also differentiates between Integration and Tolerance further by mentioning that "tolerance perpetuates difference, whereas the concpet of Integration unites citizens of a state. (Personal Interview 2018)" The difference of perspectives in political theory between the Russian recokning and the european recokning is evident in the opinions of the Russian political experts as well as students. The differenc in the formulation of tolerance as a political virtue is one of these differences.

**Conclusion**

The investigation has successfully inquired about the 'negative' and 'positive' attitudes among the socio-political interaction of the students of the two Universities. According to the *Social Process* model, applied to find and measure the attitudes, it is found that less number of students possess negative attitudes discrimination, exclusion and rejection and maximum number of students possess positive attitudes of recognition, participation and respect. The negative attitudes are acquired on the basis of the Religious and Ethnocentrism scale. Moreover, the presence of tolerance is judged on the basis of conceptions of tolerance.

In MSU, while scrutinising religious prejudice and discrimination, it is found that there are six student respondents who denied the identity of a specific religion because of their religious prejudice towards that religion. This negativity in the form of denial may or may not constitute intolerance or tolerance in their attitudes. Similarly, while scrutinizing the ethnic prejudice and discrimination in the University, five students are found possessing the negative attitudes of certain ethnicities. This negativity in the attitudes towards these denied ethnicities may include the attitude of tolerance as well. The reasons and names of the denied religions and ethnicities are already mentioned in the previous discussions in the sections. Thus, in MSU, among the total students interviewed in the survey, the number of students with negative attitudes is less. Nonetheless, the investigation found that, in MSU, majority of the student respondents exhibited the positive attitudes of recognition, participation and respect. The presence of these positive attitudes among the interaction of students indicates the presence of religious and ethnic tolerance in MSU.

In NCFU, while scrutinising religious prejudice and discrimination it is found that, there are four student respondents who denied the identity of other religions. Among these three of them mentioned a particular religion, denying its identity. The total percentage of the student respondents who exhibited the negative attitudes is forty percent in this University. Yet, the proportion of these students is less than those who showed the positive indicators of religious recognition in their attitudes. There is a possibility that the attitudes of these students possess levels of intolerance or tolerance. Similarly, while scrutinising the attitudes of ethnic prejudice and discrimination among the respondents of this University, there is only one student respondent who denied the ethnic identity of some other group. This person too, may or may not be a tolerant or intolerant person. Thus, in NCFU, considering the total number of student respondents exhibiting negative prejudicial attitudes is less in number. Nonetheless, the investigation found that in NCFU, majority of the student respondents exhibited the positive attitudes of recognition, participation and respect. The presence of these positive attitudes among the interaction of students indicates the presence of religious and ethnic tolerance in NCFU.

# Chapter 5

# Conclusion

The research focuses on the higher educational space of Universities. University as a location is a dynamic space of interaction. It is communicative, engaging and provides versatile opportunities of socio-political and cultural sharing. The youth in the form of students of the universities constitute the majority of population sharing this space of higher education. Vibrant and evolving in nature, the students influence the space extensively, resulting in the creation of a diversified and multicultural society of youth. Having the research based in such a resourceful ambience has provided it with diverse perspectives of the students learning in this space of education. In fact, it is the collective as well as diverse environment of the universities that is the source of several speculations about the attitudinal violations among students learning in the universities. Nonetheless the research attempts to confirm certain findings that are acquired on the basis of an empirical and scientific study.

By the means of this research it is explored that the vibrant and dynamic space of the University creates ample reasons for the eruption of attitudinal clashes among the students. The sharing of a common space by the students from diverse backgrounds results in their dislike, denial or rejection of the beliefs and practices of other students. Subsequently, such attitudes give way to difference of opinions and perhaps violent interventions. The interactive space of the Universities tends to be volatile due to the presence of various differences among the students of different religions and ethnicities. Therefore the space of Higher Educational Institutions in Russia is vulnerable to engendering intolerance among the students learning in these educational spaces.

In the course of the research, there are several factors discovered that determine the presence of equality as well as difference among the students. The existence of

religious and ethnic diversity in the population of students learning in the universities is one of the major factors of difference among the students. The differences due to such diversity is two-fold – Negative and Positive. The negative sense of difference is the means through which the negative attitudes of students were identified. These negative attitudes are Prejudice, Discrimination, Rejection and Exclusion. Various types of issues emerge out of these negative attitudes which affect the mutual relationship of students of the higher educational spaces. Problems like Majority-Minority divide, Religious discrimination, Ethnic discrimination, social exclusion etc are some of the glaring examples that arise out of negative difference. It can also lead to intolerance and violent conflicts among different communities of the students of higher educational institutions.

However, the positive sense of difference included the attitudes of Recognition, Reciprocity and Respect. These attitudes have been the markers of the sense of equality among the students. The research discovered that the senses of difference and equality are the most viable aspects to produce the results. In fact, Students' senses of equality have been one of the most potent forces to acquire the inferences of the research. Among various aspects that define the purpose of the research, the factors determining the levels of the sense of equality among students should be considered the most vital ones. These factors are more significant because the purpose of the research is dependent on conditions of equality among students. In other words, the amalgamation of the factors determining equality among students is responsible to generate the necessary interaction among the students. Indeed, the study of interaction among the students of the higher educational institutions in Russia has produced the inferences to mark the presence of ethnic and religious tolerance among the students of these institutions.

The research focused on tolerance in its method to verify the presence of religious and ethnic tolerance in Russian higher educational institutions. Accordingly, the positive factors determining the interaction among the students of the institutions play an important role in acquiring the inference of the research. Interaction takes place in the conditions of a communicative and shared space. It is the connecting link among the students belonging to different religions and ethnicities. Thus, the positive attitudes of Recognition, Participation and Respect, together in the form of a qualitative equality, are responsible for making the interaction possible among these students. Moreover,

the research also found that the interaction is one of the necessary factors in establishing and enhancing the probability of friendship among the students of Russian higher educational institutions.

One of the most interesting and complex puzzles of the democratization that this research solved is by providing an appropriate justification on the necessity of tolerance in the attitudes of persons. According to this justification, the praxis of tolerance as an 'initial virtue' transcends beyond prejudice in order to establish qualitative equality among the students of the universities of Russia On one hand the presence of prejudice among the interaction of the students may demonstrate the presence of intolerance. On the other hand, the prejudice among the interaction of students may also exhibit the indicators of tolerance in them. The intolerance is majorly dependent on the expressions of the tolerator's interventions in the affairs of the tolerated. In case of the absence of such expressions, it is considered that the attitude of any person comprises tolerance.

Moreover, the presence of the positive attitudes of recognition, participation and respect surely suggests the presence of tolerance in the attitudes of the practitioners of these positive attitudes. The presence of these factors ensures equality that further enhances the conditions of democratization in the higher educational institutions in Russia. Therefore, despite the existence of differences harbouring prejudices among the students, the tolerant students in a democratized environment ensure a comfortable space for the acquisition of higher education in Russia.

There are two hypotheses of the research that provided a ground to begin the research for tracing the presence of tolerance in the higher educational institutions in Russia. In conclusion, both of the hypotheses of the research have been falsified after the completion of the scientific analysis of the observations.

To specify, the first hypotheses of the research that maintained "there is a sustained sense of ethnic and religious discrimination and rejection among the students learning in the higher educational institutions of Russia, which correspondingly engenders the sense of intolerance in these students" is falsified by the findings of the research.

This hypothesis is falsified for the findings of the research prove that though there is a sense of discrimination and rejection among the interaction of students, it is not

present in a sustained form. According to the findings of the research the reasons corroborating the justification of the statement proves firstly, that the dynamic nature of the environment of the educational institutions of Russia cannot sustain the sense of ethnic and religious discrimination. The increasing levels of education among the students are also one of the strong factors determining the temporary presence of discriminations in the institutions. Secondly, it is not necessary that the presence of religious and ethnic discrimination results in the corresponding intolerance. On the basis of the various conceptions, for example the Permission Conception, the research has found that among the interaction of students, the negative attitudes of prejudice and discrimination can exist parallel to the positive attitude of tolerance. The tolerating students can discriminate or reject other tolerated students while tolerating them. Intolerance demands intervention of the tolerant among the affairs of the tolerated. In this case too, the inference depicts a negligible number of students with such intervening and intolerant attitudes. Thus, in the dynamic space of progressing educational institutions, the sustained sense of religious and ethnic discrimination and rejection is not possible and the engendering of intolerance in such an educational environment is also not possible.

The second hypothesis is also falsified on the basis of the findings of the research. This hypothesis maintained that, "The increasing ethnic and religious consciousness among the students learning in the higher educational institutions of Russia leads to declining level of tolerance towards each other, thereby undermining the overall process of democratization in these educational institutes."

This second hypothesis is falsified on the basis of the following reasons found during the research. Firstly, the increasing ethnic and religious consciousness among the students of the higher educational institutions cannot necessarily be a reason for the declining level of mutual tolerance among them. This is not possible because the findings of the research have proved that majority of the students of the higher institutions of Russia with higher levels of religious and ethnic consciousness exhibited positive attitudes of tolerance, recognition, respect and equality among their mutual interaction. The presence of these positive attitudes surely negates the decreasing levels of tolerance among the students. Exceedingly, the rising levels of education positively affect the increasing levels of democratization. In such a socio-

political context, there cannot be a fall in the levels of tolerance among the students of Russian higher educational institutions. Secondly, as already put in the first point the positive attitudes enhance the quality of democratization, therefore, the reckoning of undermining the process of democratization fails to stand intact.

The findings of the research encapsulate the observations, reflections and inferences of the concept of tolerance in an attitudinal form. Along with the other formulations, the limitations, paradoxes and problems are discussed while projecting the comprehensive idea of tolerance in the thesis. The study of tolerance in the educational space has provided a progressive outlook to the perspectives of the research. These findings can prove beneficial in developing more advanced formulations in the domain of attitudinal and participative democracy. Exceedingly, the finding on the relationship between tolerance and democracy is one of the most elemental contributions of the research that needs further academic engagement.

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**PERSONAL INTERVIEW**

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